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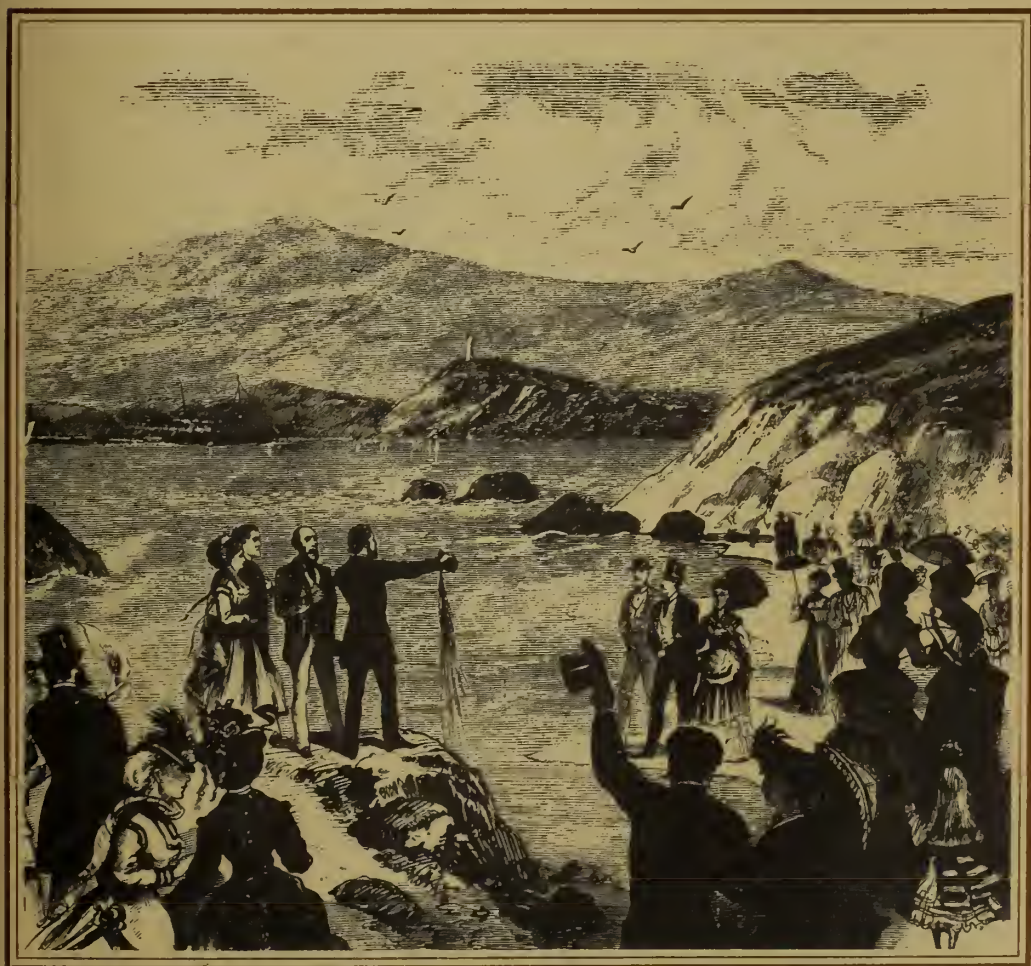
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THE COVER: The completion of the Pacific Railroad was one of those epochal events that led to all kinds of serious reflections and frivolous actions: the formation of the California Historical Society (1871) illustrating the former, our cover woodcut (1870) demonstrating the latter. In the recorded event at Land's End, the presiding officer of a businessmen's junket from Boston is seen pouring Atlantic waters into the Pacific.

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San Francisco in 1843: A Key to Dr. Sandels' Drawing

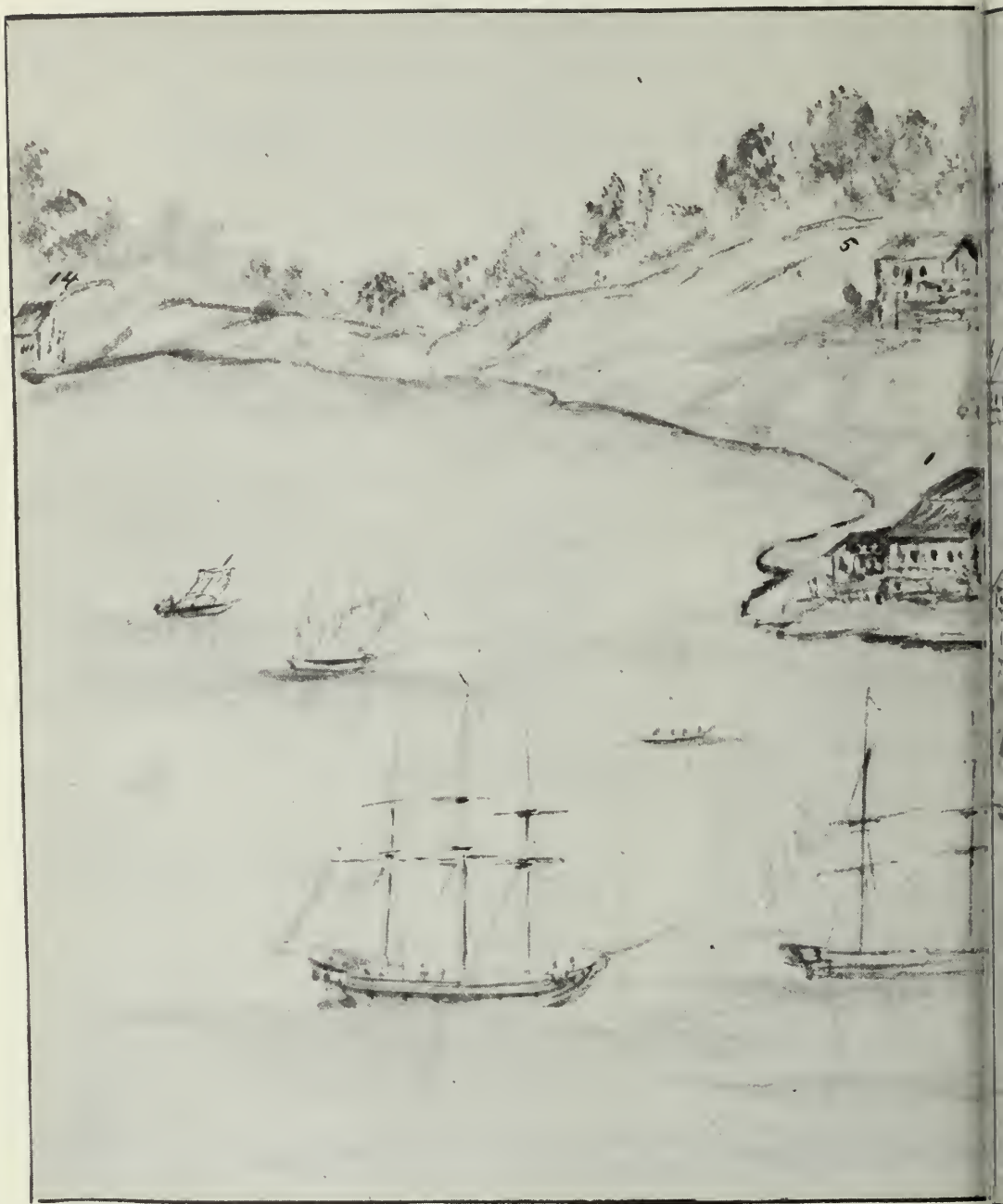
By BRUNO FRITZSCHE

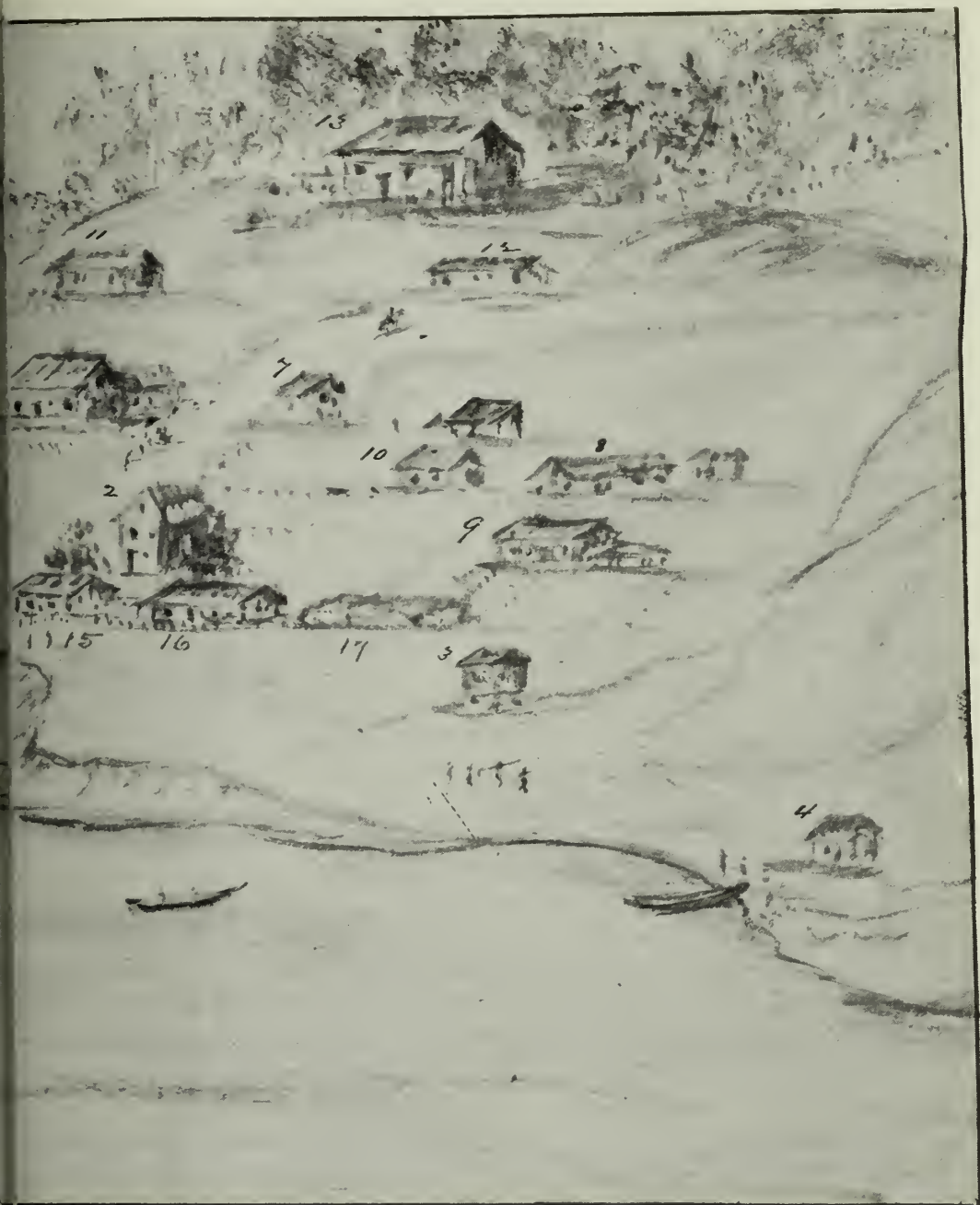
MANY MYSTERIES SURROUND the life of Dr. Sandels, alias G. M. Waseurtz af Sandels, alias The King's Orphan, who is said to have visited California in 1842—1843. His account of California, which turned up under strange circumstances at a meeting of the Associated Pioneers of the Territorial Days of California in 1878, is also doubtful and mysterious, and Bancroft's opinion about this manuscript was that "there is a strong element of fiction in some parts of it."

All this is narrated in the Introduction to the handsome edition of Sandels' *A Sojourn in California*, published by the Grabhorn Press for the Society of California Pioneers in 1945. With this element of mystery in mind, a careful analysis reveals a number of inconsistencies. One of the most interesting is to be found in the pencil drawing of *The Sea Town and Port of Yerbabuena in San Francisco Bay in California*, reproduced here. The facts show here a very flagrant and unmistakable inconsistency between the key which accompanies the drawing and the drawing itself. House No. 12 is referred to in the key as "Old Adobe Custom House." Now, this *Old House* was, at the time Sandels was supposed to be here, so brand new that it was not yet built.¹ Bancroft, in his *History of California*, cites in detail the sources which refer to the erection of the Custom House. They show clearly that it was built by Bartolomeo Diaz in 1845, two years after Sandels' visit.² Even more confusing is the fact that No. 6 is supposed to be Captain Leidesdorff's City Hotel which was begun in 1846 and not finished before 1847. One would, on this basis, suppose that there must be some forgery involved.

Upon closer examination, however, we see that in many respects the sketch is done rather accurately. The sizes and proportions of the principal buildings—the Hudson's Bay Store (No. 1), Casa Grande (No. 13), Nathan Spear's Mill (No. 2)—are rendered rather well; the shrub-oaks and bushes encroach upon the boundaries of the tiny settlement; the small *cantil* or cliff in front of the houses at the edge of the water is drawn in carefully. All of these features are corroborated by the map drawn by Wm. A. Richardson in 1835³ and that of Jean-Jacques Vioget in 1839. The only thing missing in Sandels' sketch is the *Laguna Salida* as evidenced by the aforementioned

BRUNO FRITZSCHE is a professor at the University of Zurich and has done extensive research while in California.





The authority of Sandels' drawing of Yerba Buena in 1843 is evident from the general character of the sketch as well as from detailed analysis. The original view is owned by the Society of California Pioneers, and appears with many other important drawings by G. M. Waseurtz af Sandels in *A Sojourn in California, by the King's Orphan*, edited by Helen Putnam Van Sicklen, in a Grabhorn Press edition for the Book Club of California (San Francisco, 1945).

maps and by many eye-witness accounts of the early days. This *Laguna Salida* was not filled in until 1848⁴ and at that time intersected Montgomery Street at about Jackson Street. In Sandels' sketch it should be visible in the vicinity of house No. 3.

All in all, the drawing in itself seems to be rather accurate and fairly reliable, but the key is not. An examination of the original drawing, in the possession of the Society of California Pioneers, reveals that the key was not drawn up by the supposed Dr. Sandels himself, but by his first editor, who probably based his explanations on the much later Bosqui map of 1847.⁵ To draw full use from this sketch, then, it is necessary to devise a more accurate key which with corroborating contemporary sources will enable us to understand Sandels' drawing. An attempt to furnish such a key produced the following comparison with the key as published in 1926 and again in 1945, which will be referred to in the following pages as the *first key*.

First Key

1. Hudson's Bay Company building
2. Old Mill
3. G. Reynolds' residence
4. Capt. Antonio Ortega's residence
5. Wm. A. Liedesdorff cottage
6. City Hotel (Wm. A. Liedesdorff)
7. Capt. John Paty's Adobe building
8. Juan C. Davis' residence
9. Peter I. Sherback's residence
10. Sill's blacksmith shop
11. Jesus Noé's residence
12. Old Adobe Custom House
13. Juan N. Padilla's residence
14. Liedesdorff warehouse
15. Wm. H. Davis' store
16. Capt. Wm. Hinckley's residence
17. Gen. M. G. Vallejo's building

New Key

1. Same
2. Same
3. Dionisio Garcia's house or Jack Fuller's wash house
4. Punta del Embarcadero
5. Jack Fuller's house
6. Vioget Tavern
7. Same
8. Same
9. Wm. Reynolds' residence
10. Pedro Sherreback's house
11. Vicente Miramontes' house
12. John Cooper's house
13. Case Grande
14. Wm. H. Davis' warehouse
15. Kent Hall
16. Same
17. Same

The following detailed discussion of each building demonstrates the necessity for drawing up this new key and indicates the principal sources from which the new key was devised.

1. *Store of the Hudson's Bay Company*: This building can easily be recognized not only by its "Dutch-Barn" roof, but also by its size. It was the most pretentious house in early Yerba Buena, built by Jacob Primer Leese in 1838. The two-story frame building, resting on eighteen 4'x6' foundation blocks, consisted of a central entrance hall leading to the large store at the southern end and to four bedrooms and two living rooms in the northern part of the building. The living quarters were painted green and white. One room, possibly a living room, was panelled with pine planks.⁶ In 1841 Leese sold his house to the Hudson's Bay Company for \$4600.⁷ To the left of the main building one of the outhouses, probably the kitchen, can be seen. This was made of adobe bricks to prevent fire hazard.

2. *Nathan Spear's Mill*: This structure, too, is easily identified from its outward appearance. It was the only two-story building in Yerba Buena at this time, with the exception of the Leese house, mentioned above. The heavy frame had been put up by Daniel Sill, a millwright in Spear's employ. He also operated the machinery which Spear had imported from Boston. A team of six mules set the mill in motion.⁸ In later years the upper story served as printing office for the first newspaper in Yerba Buena, the *California Star*.⁹

3. *Dionisio Garcia's House or Fuller's Wash House*: The first key identifies this structure as G. Reynolds' residence. The evidence indicates rather that Reynolds' residence is No. 9. His dwelling-place was on the west side of Montgomery St., which was delineated by the houses of Spear (No. 15), Hinckley (No. 16), and Vallejo (No. 17). House No. 3 is clearly on the east side of Montgomery St., nearer the shore. The lot on which the house appears to be standing was granted to Dionisio Garcia in 1839.¹⁰ According to the law, the owner of a lot had to improve it and erect a building of some description within one year. We may, therefore, assume that by 1843 a dwelling of some sort was standing on this place, although we do not have any documentary evidence for it. On the other hand strict observance of the law was not a common virtue in those times and it may well be that Garcia did not bother about improving his *solar*. Furthermore, as the prominent landmark of the *Laguna Salida*, which should appear right where this house stands, is missing, we are somewhat at a loss to place this building correctly. It may be that the artist meant to depict Jack Fuller's first shed or "wash house," although this small structure was more to the left, *i.e.* south, approximately between House No. 16 and the beach.

4. *Punta del Embarcadero*: The Bosqui map of 1847 mentions Capt. Ortega's residence, but much further inland than house No. 4 in Sandels' drawing, on the west side of Montgomery St. In Sandels' sketch this house appears to be right at the beach, near the point called *Punta del Embarcadero* in Richard-

son's map. Also, the boat drawn up to the beach near this house seems to indicate that this is the *Punta del Embarcadero*. The land around this point was granted to Jacob Primer Leese and Salvador Vallejo, acting for the Russian-American Fur Company.¹¹ In 1839 the Russians built here a warehouse which burnt down in the fall of the same year. It was never rebuilt as the Russians were about to pull out of California.¹² It is, however, very well possible that Leese and Vallejo built another warehouse for their own purposes on this strategic point, although no documentary evidence of it has been found.

5. *Jack Fuller's House*: The Leidesdorff cottage mentioned in the first key was built after 1844 by Robert Ridley, who sold it in October, 1846, to Wm. Leidesdorff for \$2,000.¹³ Only then did it become known as "Leidesdorff Cottage." This is more probably the residence of Jack Fuller, one of the earliest inhabitants, who came in 1838 with Spear; Fuller being a first-rate cook and Spear a first-rate gourmet.¹⁴ Fuller was a jack-of-all-trades and a merchant of sorts who took to the bottle, enjoyed the easy-going life of California, and subsequently went broke.¹⁵ Sandels' neat drawing actually shows three buildings, which tallies with Bancroft's statement, which says that Fuller's residence consisted of two wooden houses and an adobe bakehouse.

6. *Vioget's Saloon*: As has been previously stated, this is very definitely not the City Hotel of Leidesdorff but the famous tavern of Jean-Jacques Vioget. Vioget was one of the most colorful inhabitants of Yerba Buena—seafarer, painter, violinist, surveyor, merchant, and innkeeper. He built his residence, "a small cluster of one-story buildings,"¹⁶ in 1840 and 1841 and applied in 1842 for a license to open a *casa de billar*.¹⁷ Vioget's saloon was the center of social activity in the early days. There, too, hung the first map of the settlement, from which the new-comers selected their lots. This was also the site of the famous eating contest between the two sturdy violinists, Andreas Hoepfner and Jean-Jacques Vioget, who, to the general amusement of many spectators, devoured gargantuan quantities of beef, tamales, beans, and pies—"enough to satisfy a dozen hungry men."¹⁸ After the American Conquest the house was renamed *Portsmouth House* in honor of the U.S.S. *Portsmouth*.

7. *Capt. John Paty's Adobe*: Captain Paty was a merchant from the Sandwich Islands. According to Bancroft, Bartolomeo Diaz built an adobe house for Paty in 1846. Although this may be true, there was a house on Paty's lot as early as 1839, as shown by Vioget's map of that date.

8. *Juan C. Davis' Residence*: Juan C. Davis was a Scottish carpenter who came to California in 1839. He established himself in Yerba Buena and in the

Napa Valley. In his boatyard in the Napa Estuary he built the schooner *Susama* and the launch *Londresa*.¹⁹ He had a 100 vara lot on the north side of Washington Street, between Kearny and Montgomery Streets.²⁰ According to Bancroft he built on his lot a house, a carpenter's shop, and a blacksmith's shop. Possibly house No. 9 is one of these buildings belonging to Juan C. Davis.

9. *Wm. Reynolds' Residence*: This structure, on the northwestern corner of Montgomery and Washington Streets, is mentioned in the Bosqui map of 1847 and nowhere else. The lot had been granted to Francisco Guerrero in 1843.²⁰ It is possible that Guerrero, who used to live at the mission, erected a building on his lot and rented it out to William Reynolds. Reynolds, whose Christian name was William rather than G. . . ., as mentioned in the Bosqui map, was a carpenter and partner in the firm of Juan C. Davis & Co. He resided in the Napa Valley and, from 1843, at least part time in Yerba Buena.²¹ See also No. 3.

10. *Pedro Sherreback's House*. Pedro Sherreback, Scandinavian by origin and a carpenter by trade, was granted a lot in the same block as Paty (No. 7), Hinckley (No. 16), and Spear (Nos. 2 and 15).²² It seems, therefore, appropriate to call No. 10 his house rather than No. 9 as in the first key. The first key identifies No. 10 as Daniel Sill's blacksmith shop. Sill, being in the employ of Nathan Spear never had a lot, much less a house of his own.²³ The Bosqui map of 1847, it is true, has a building called Daniel Sill's blacksmith shop, but this was a blacksmith shop belonging not to Sill but to John Finch, "the tinker."²⁴ This blacksmith shop did not exist before 1844 and it was erected to the west of where No. 10 stands.

11. *Vicente Miramontes' House*: The Bosqui map and the first key call this house Jesus Noé's residence. It may be that Jesus Noé, at some time, lived here. The lot and the house thereon belonged to Vicente Miramontes as witnessed by Wheeler's Land Titles and by a deed of sale from Miramontes to Leidesdorff in 1847.²⁵

12. *John Cooper's House*: As already mentioned, this cannot be the Old Adobe Custom House. Not only did the Custom House at that time not exist, it was, when built, much larger than the poor shanty represented by No. 12.²⁶ Its size fits in rather well with the hut John Cooper erected in 1840 on the lot which belonged to his well-known cousin Juan Bautista Roger Cooper.

13. *Casa Grande*: This clearly must be Wm. A. Richardson's Adobe House or *Casa Grande*, built in 1837. The *Casa Grande* was, after all, not so very grand, measuring only 66 by 49 feet.²⁷ Laplace, the French explorer, who

apparently had no knowledge of its pretentious title, describes it as a "neat little house."²⁸ Still, it was one of the bigger houses in Yerba Buena, as one can see from Sandels' drawing. It was also one of the few adobe houses in California boasting a wooden rather than an earthen floor.²⁹ When he moved to Sausalito in 1841 Richardson sold his house to Santiago McKinley, a trader from the Sandwich Islands. At the time our sketch was drawn, William Heath Davis, agent for McKinley, lived in the *Casa Grande*.

14. *William Heath Davis' Warehouse*: According to his own testimony, William H. Davis, one of the most prominent merchants of Yerba Buena, in 1843 built a large wooden warehouse on the beach, at the foot of Sacramento St.³⁰ Leidesdorff's warehouse was erected near this spot, but only in 1844 or 1845. The first key, therefore, is probably wrong in assuming that No. 14 is Leidesdorff's warehouse.

15. *Kent Hall*: Nathan Spear, who upon termination of his ill-fated partnership with Jacob Primer Leese moved from Monterey to Yerba Buena to take matters in his own hands, bought a ship's cabin from the bark *Kent*.³¹ As he was not a naturalized Mexican citizen he could not hold a legal title to any land, but with the special permission of the authorities he was permitted to put up his ready-made house right on the beach. Only after Spear had retired, in 1845, to the healthier climate of the North Bay Shore, did William H. Davis install himself in Kent Hall which was, in fact, not much of a hall, measuring only 12 by 18 feet.³¹

16. *Captain Hinckley's Residence*: William Sturgis Hinckley, the black sheep of a highly respectable and industrious New England family, preferred the amiable and easy-going California atmosphere to the stiff and decorous living of his Boston ancestors. He became a thorough Californian, much to the disgust of his fellow-American Thomas O. Larkin, who said that Hinckley was "worthy of being a better man."³² Hinckley was in partnership with Nathan Spear and Jacob P. Leese. He identified himself with Mexican California to the extent of becoming the only alcalde of American birth in Yerba Buena. His house, built about 1840, was his home until his death in 1846.

17. *General Mariano G. Vallejo's Residence*: The Bosqui map identifies this building as General M. G. Vallejo's house. The lot was granted to his brother Juan A. Vallejo in 1839. He, in turn, sold it to Mariano in 1841.³³ John Henry Brown and William Heath Davis, from whom we have the principal reports of that time, do not mention a house standing on that lot. In 1847 the lot was sold to Thomas O. Larkin. In the deed of sale, too, no mention is made of a building.³³ On the other hand, General Vallejo certified the authenticity of Bosqui's map with his signature. It would seem that he, if anyone, should have known whether the building in question was his or not.

The Sandels drawing, it appears, is a correct reproduction of Yerba Buena in 1843. With the exception of No. 3 and No. 4 we have definitive corroborating evidence from other contemporary sources as to the position, shape, and size of the different dwellings represented. We may add that to our knowledge Sandels' View of Yerba Buena depicts *all* the buildings of that time, except Victor Prudon's abode and the small farm of Juana Briones de Miranda, both of which stood further to the north, so that they could not possibly have been visible from the position which the artist took.³⁴ Missing, too, is the "first real house" of Yerba Buena, the one Jacob P. Leese had put up in 1836, during the day preceding the fourth of July.³⁵ It was situated a little to the left or southeast of Richardson's lot on which the *Casa Grande* (No. 13) was built later. Considering that Leese's first house was a shaky, hastily erected structure and considering the general accuracy of Sandels' drawing, we may well conclude that by 1843, at a time when there was no room for historical sentimentalities, this "landmark" had already been torn down.

All in all there is no doubt that the sketch of *The Sea Town and Port Yerbabuena in San Francisco Bay in California* is genuine and accurate, whoever Dr. Sandels may have been.

NOTES

1. There are several primary and secondary sources dealing exclusively with the houses of Yerba Buena. As a matter of economy no footnote has been made when the interpretation is based upon one or more of the following sources: Jean-Jacques Vioget, "Plan of Yerba Buena in 1839" (Photostat in the California State Library, Sacramento, Calif.). This map has been reproduced in Zoeth S. Eldredge, *The Beginnings of San Francisco from the Expeditions of Anza 1774, to the City Charter of 1850* (San Francisco, 1912), 512, but without the buildings which appear on the above copy of the original drawing; William Heath Davis, "Map of San Francisco. With key to buildings, businesses and offices, about 1847" (Photostat in the California State Library, Sacramento, Calif.); *View of San Francisco, formerly Yerba Buena in 1846/47* (Lithograph by Bosqui Engraving Company, San Francisco), referred to in the text as *Bosqui map*; John Henry Brown, *Reminiscences and Incidents of Early Days of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1886), Appendix, "Buildings of San Francisco"; Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), V, 676-686. One of Bancroft's lengthy footnotes in small print, entitled "Buildings of San Francisco," contains much valuable information.

2. Bancroft, *History of California*, IV, 669-70.

3. Richardson's map is reproduced in Eldredge, *Beginnings of San Francisco*, 504.

4. The Elbert P. Jones Papers (MSS. in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif.) contain "Proposals to grade Pacific Street and filling up the Lagoon" of March 10, 1848.

5. The sketch and part of the manuscript have been published in the *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, III (1926), 58-98.

6. Jacob P. Leese Papers (MSS. in Bancroft Library, Berkeley). In one of the account books is a very detailed account, entitled "Cost of House of Jacob P. Leese," from which this information is taken. The house is also described in Mrs. Daniel Harvey (nee Eloise McLoughlin), "Account of the Life of John McLoughlin" (MS. in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley). Mrs. Harvey's first husband was William Rae, agent of the Hudson's Bay Company in Yerba Buena.

7. "Spanish Records Translated, also Index" (MS. in the San Francisco County Archives, San Francisco), 361.

8. William Heath Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California*, ed. Douglas S. Watson (San Francisco, 1929), 136.

9. Edward C. Kemble, *Yerba Buena, 1846* (San Francisco, 1935), 6. This is a reprint of Kemble's articles in the *Sacramento Daily Union*, Aug. 26, Sept. 16, and Oct. 14, 1871.

10. Alfred Wheeler, *Land Titles in San Francisco and the Laws affecting the same* (San Francisco, 1852), Index.

11. "Spanish Records Translated," 246. See also Jacob N. Bowman, "The Third Map of Yerba Buena," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXVI, 267.

12. Dean Albertson, "Jacob Primer Leese, Californio" (Master's Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1947), 84-85.

13. "Transfer Deeds, Liber A" (MS. in the San Francisco County Archives, San Francisco), 25.

14. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California*, 185.

15. Thomas O. Larkin, "Account Books" (MSS. in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley), "List of bad debts."

16. Piper, as quoted in Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 680.

17. Henry D. Fitch, "Documentos para la historia de California" (MSS. in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley), Letter of Jean-Jacques Vioget to Fitch, May 17, 1841. See also "Spanish Records Translated," 311-312.

18. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California*, 258.

19. Bancroft, *History of California*, "Pioneer Register."

20. Wheeler, *Land Titles in San Francisco*.

21. Bancroft, "Pioneer Register."

22. Wheeler, *Land Titles in San Francisco*.

23. *Ibid.*

24. "Transfer Deeds, Liber A," 50.

25. "Transfers of Deeds, A" (MS. in the San Francisco County Archives, San Francisco), 72. [Note: "Transfer Deeds, Liber A" and "Transfers of Deeds, A" are two different MSS.]

26. According to Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 669, the Custom House was 56 by 22 feet. The Hudson's Bay Company store was, in comparison, according to Davis, 60 by 24 feet.

27. G. W. Hendry and J. N. Bowman, "The Spanish and Mexican Adobe and other Buildings in the Nine San Francisco Bay Counties, 1776 to about 1850" (Typescript in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley), 1206a. This is an outstanding work of scholarship and it is a pity that it has not been published.

28. Cyrille Laplace, *Campagne de Circumnavigation de la frégate l'Artémise, pendant les années 1837, 1838, 1839 et 1840* (Paris, 1854), VI, 258.

29. Kemble, *Yerba Buena*, 1846, 6.

30. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California*, 185.

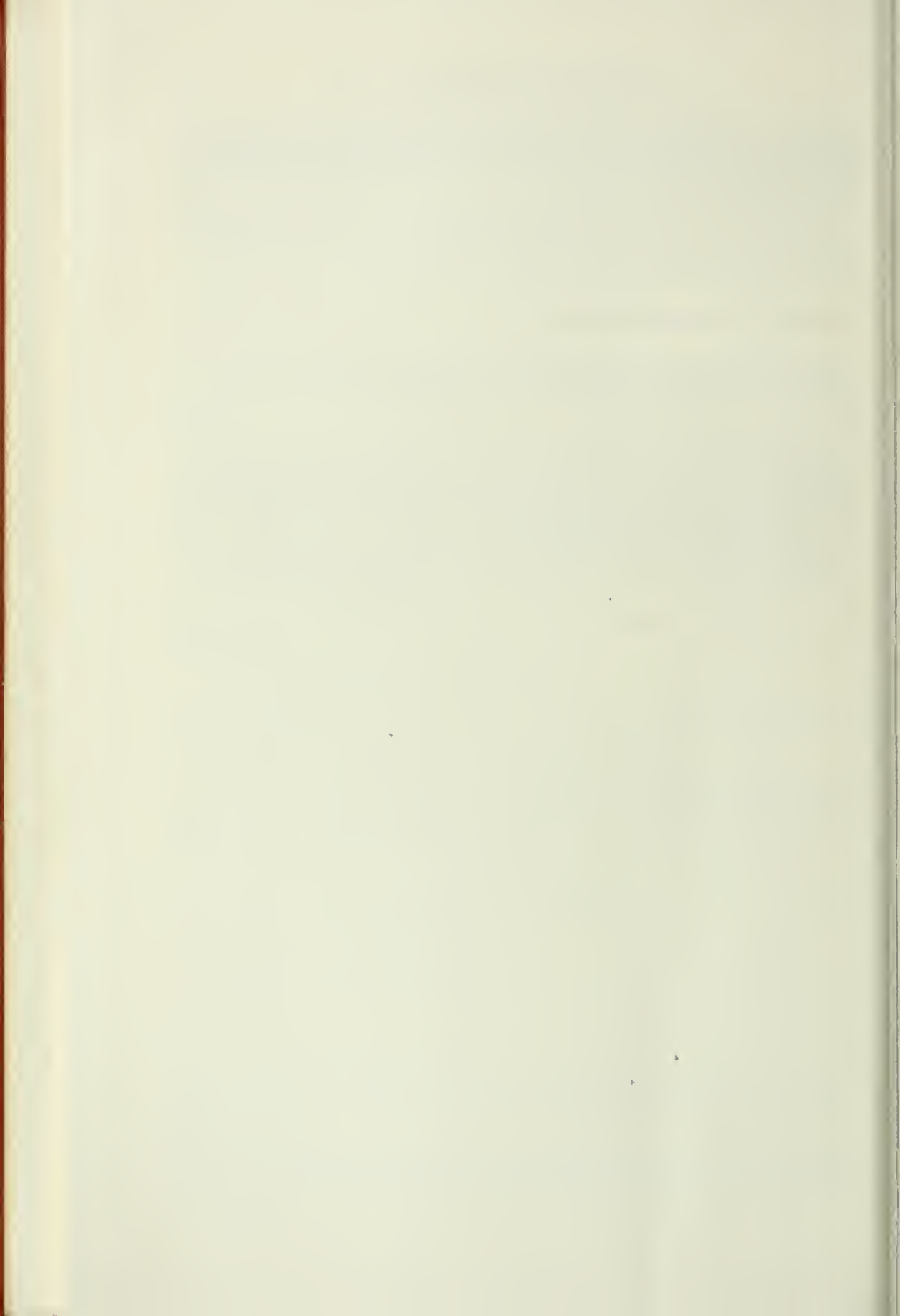
31. *Ibid.*, 175.

32. *The Larkin Papers*, ed. George P. Hammond (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1953), IV, 330.

33. "Transfers of Deeds, A," 315.

34. Victor Prudon's house appears on Vioget's map. See note 1. For Juana Briones de Miranda see Jacob N. Bowman, "Juana Briones de Miranda," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, IXXXX (1957).

35. Frank Soulé *et. al.*, *Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), 169 ff.



Commercial Foundations of Political Interest in the Opening Pacific, 1789-1829

By SISTER MAGDALEN COUGHLIN, C.S.J.

AMERICAN POSSESSION OF THE PACIFIC COAST, achieved in the 1840's, had roots deep in New England's maritime interests which gained the strength, through regional and national political attention, to span several decades and a continent. For after her West Indies commercial foundation was destroyed in the American break from the British Empire, New England's sharp need for new spheres of activity demanded and gained keen political attention.¹ This early enthusiasm of the young government for a new trade, scotched by tension that seethed around the French-English struggle, revived in the more defined terms made possible by two decades of American merchant activity in an opening Pacific. Thus the ever deepening involvement of the "Boston men" in the opening West Coast-China trade led first to isolated shouts in Congress and then to a growing clamor that rumbled through several decades and rose to a demanding crescendo in the 1840's. It becomes obvious upon examination that these early and sometimes isolated rumbles not only made themes familiar to the American ear but were an effective foundation for the success of the crescendo that led to possession.

From the beginning, the efforts of American merchants to answer the challenge of commercial survival had the support and interest of both prominent statesmen and the national government. Thus, Robert Morris, half owner of the *Empress of China*, the first American vessel to the Far East, wrote Jay that "In order to encourage others in the pursuit of this adventurous commerce, I am sending some ships to Canton in China."² John Adams got assurance from the Portuguese envoy in London that our ships would be welcomed at Macao and then wrote Jay to urge merchants "to push their commerce to the East Indies as fast and as far as it will go." And included in a letter from supercargo William Green to his employer, Champlin, and written in the hand of Charles Thomson, was permission for the United States vessels to use French Far East ports.³ When Samuel Shaw, the supercargo of the *Empress of China*, returned from a successful voyage, Jay ordered that those parts of his report concerned with the new trade be

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published to provide information and spark further interest; Jay also sent word, "That the Secretary of Foreign Affairs inform Mr. Shaw that Congress feel peculiar satisfaction in the successful issue of this first effort of the citizens of America to establish a direct trade with China. . . ." ⁴ The combination of stark need for new markets with this aura of political favor engendered such an initial rush to the Far East that Richard H. Lee wrote Madison, "I fear that our Countrymen will overdo this business—For now there appears everywhere a Rage for East India Voyages." ⁵

The way was opened, then, and the early hints of economic-political co-operation were evident. And now that there was concrete assurance of both welcoming markets and governmental interest, an entirely new sphere could be entered. For although these initial thrusts had been across the familiar Atlantic, now an exciting new invitation was glimpsed in the economic results of Cook's third voyage on which sea otter skins found on the Pacific coast were bought as great prizes in China. ⁶ And this invitation was answered in 1787 by an eager Boston sending Kendrick and Gray to the Pacific Coast with the *Lady Washington* and the *Columbia* in search for the answer to the baffling question of goods acceptable on the China market. ⁷ It would not take these shrewd Yankees long to catch the tinny note of ineffectiveness in Spanish threats as well as the fancy of the Cohong merchants, and thus become deeply involved in the seemingly endless possibilities of an opening Pacific. ⁸

These merchants crowding around Cape Horn sailed in the assurance of both regional and national political interest. The efforts of the Essex Junto toward tariff and tonnage legislation, reflections of the New England merchant's struggle to stand free and firm in his new Far East markets, are scattered through the first sessions of Congress. ⁹ Now "The petition of Elias Hasket Derby . . . presented praying relief in the payment of duties on . . . teas" imported from China, memorials "praying that an additional duty may be laid on all goods imported into the United States from India and China in Foreign bottoms". . . and pleas for all-embracing aid ¹⁰ could be answered for the first time by the national government in comprehensive and satisfactory terms. The first tariff of July 4, 1789, therefore, not only favored Americans by granting a 10% discount for all goods entering on American vessels, but explicitly promoted Oriental trade. Taxes on tea, for example, were from 6 to 20 cents if direct from China in American vessels, but 8 to 26 if imported through Europe, and as much as 15 to 45 cents a pound if on foreign vessels. Duties on other Oriental goods entering on foreign vessels were also nearly twice as much if on American. Imports from China grew in these favorable circumstances from \$1,023,000 in 1795 to \$5,745,000 in 1810. And in Timothy Pickering's protest against the Spanish custom of calling the Pacific a closed sea, asserting that the navigation of that sea was too important to be renounced, there is an early hint that the national govern-

ment would not only nurture the young Pacific trade at home, but would also wage battle for its distant source.¹¹

The alacrity of governmental response to these early merchant demands escaped neither the American nor the interested European who watched these surprisingly sure first steps into the Pacific with alarm. Thus a cycle that would revolve with ever greater frequency toward the 1840's and be a constant catalyst to government action was early set in motion. For the intensity of American merchant interest in the opening Pacific, an interest obviously nurtured by the new government, caused tremors of apprehension in other interested nations, which in turn caused greater American concern and then action. Thus the need for government attention deepened as it became necessary not only to legislate favorable trade regulations, but also to protect the areas of the young trade from foreign conquerors.

This situation was greatly intensified by the exaggerated image the cocky Yankee gave of his government's protection. The Englishman, John Meares, recorded that,

Mr. Gray, the master, informed us that he had sailed, in company with his consort, the *Columbia* . . . under the patronage of Congress, to examine the coast of America, and to open a fur trade between New England and this part of the American continent, in order to provide funds for their China ships. . . .¹²

In 1789 the Spanish Governor wrote the Commandant of San Francisco to take action "Should there arrive at the Port of San Francisco a ship named *Columbia*, which they say belongs to General Washington of the American states. . . ."¹³ When the American, James Magee, was questioned in Valparaiso he answered "that we were fitted out from Boston, in New England, under the authority of the United States, and were bound to the N.W. coast."¹⁴ This impression of the government interest¹⁵ being responsible for the number and intensity of American traders and whalers in the Pacific was so strong that after one decade the Spanish Governor sounded the note that would be familiar by the 1840's when he warned his superiors of the "arrogant boldness" of the Americans, and added with keen foresight, "possibly this proud nation, constantly increasing its strength, may one day venture to measure it with Spain, and acquiring such knowledge of our seas and coasts may make California the object of its attack."¹⁶ Although there were no official grounds for his apprehension at this point, the coast swarmed with traders who not only audaciously penetrated the economy and drew its dependency upon themselves,¹⁷ but also cast covetous looks up and down the entire coast. William Shaler, the first of these New England Americans to catch the attention of the American public with an extended description of California, voiced the "arrogance" that haunted the Spanish:

The conquest of this country . . . would be absolutely nothing; it would fall without an effort of the most inconsiderable force. . . . In a word, it would be as easy to keep California in spite of the Spanish as it would be to wrest it from them in the first instance.¹⁸

These swaggering Yankee merchants, shouting not only their government's favor but also its possible future, naturally caught more than Spanish attention. As American statesmen, sensitive to international tremors, became apprehensive lest the valuable new trade areas be snatched away, a move toward Pacific ports by land was added to the thrust around Cape Horn. It was, therefore, this very spectre of foreign possession of these new routes to the Far East that first sparked Jefferson's famous interest in penetrating the Far West. Aroused by fear of both British and French interests, he wrote to George Rogers Clark from Paris in 1783 suggesting that Clark lead an expedition West, for "I find they have subscribed a very large sum of money in England for exploring the country from the Mississippi to California. . . . I am afraid they have thoughts of colonizing into that quarter."¹⁹ In 1785, when he heard of the preparations at L'Orient for the expedition of La Pérouse to the Pacific, he urged Jay to send Captain John Paul Jones to spy.²⁰ It was to be expected, therefore, that Ledyard, who came to Paris with dreams of a China trade built on his recent voyage with Cook, would be received with great warmth by Jefferson, who agreed to arrange letters for Ledyard's abortive move across Eurasia to the Pacific.²¹

Nor did Jefferson's interest and objective waver upon his return to the United States and the establishment of his own administration. His purpose in encouraging the Philadelphia Philosophical Society to sponsor André Michaux's expedition West was clarified when he told Michaux he could ignore all the instructions "except, indeed, what is the first of all objects, that you seek for and pursue that route which shall form the shortest and most convenient communication between the higher parts of the Missouri and the Pacific Ocean."²² When he saw an account of Alexander Mackenzie's trip across the continent, a veritable blueprint of British expansionism, he commented to Monroe, "However our present interest may restrain us within our own limits it is impossible not to look forward to distant times, . . ." and so he took up pen to prepare the secret request to Congress for exploration "even to the Western Ocean." His orders to Meriwether Lewis were no less definite. "The object of your mission is to explore the Missouri river, and such principal streams of it as by its course and communication with the water of the Pacific Ocean may offer the most direct and practicable water communication across this continent, for the purpose of commerce."²³

That his fear of another nation's snatching up possession of Pacific ports remained a prominent catalyst to his action is clear in a letter to Lewis in which he quoted Mr. La Cépède at Paris as saying, "If your nation can

establish an easy communication by rivers, canals, and short portages between New York for example & . . . the mouth of the Columbia, what a route for the commerce of Europe, Asia, & America."²⁴ In turn, the essential role of government interest in American merchant success on the Pacific was explicit in Lewis's pleas, "If the government will only aid even on a limited scale the enterprise of her Citizens I am convinced that we shall soon derive the benefits of a most lucrative trade from this source."²⁵

The impetus of both this new information and the obvious official interest in the commercially opening Pacific was expressed in definite terms in 1810 by the giant merchant, John Jacob Astor, who took the last major step toward Pacific ports before the war thwarted all efforts. It was this seemingly unsuccessful Astor venture that bridged the war years and upon which American merchants and statesmen later stood firm in their conviction of American rights on the Pacific. Astor's objective, a combination of thrusts by sea and land, was clear:

. . . to make an establishment at the mouth of Columbia river, which should serve as a place of depot, and give further facilities for conducting a trade across this continent to that river, and from thence, on the range of Northwest coast &c., to Canton, in China, and from thence to the United States. . . .²⁶

J. Q. Adams later wrote Rush that Astoria had been settled under the patronage of the United States.²⁷ But although Jefferson told Astor that he would help him by "every reasonable patronage and facility in the power of the executive,"²⁸ he found there were constitutional objections to any official participation of the United States. Still there was open government sympathy for this move to establish Pacific ports.²⁹ When the *Tonquin* sailed September 8, 1810, it was convoyed by the U.S. *Constitution* and captained by Jonathan Thorne, on furlough from the U.S. Navy for this purpose.³⁰

But it was after the war that Astor's establishment gained tremendous significance and captured the closest government attention. Then it became the keystone of the American claim to Oregon. Thus, in his early instructions to the envoys at Ghent, Secretary of State Monroe showed a vision of the sea when he reminded them that when the war opened there was an American post at the mouth of the Columbia, that if it had been taken it was to be returned, and under no circumstances should the British have it.³¹ A few months later he told Anthony St. John Baker, the British minister in Washington, that "the President intended immediately to reoccupy the post at the mouth of the Columbia. . . ."³²

The frustration of these first moves toward reoccupation are largely explainable by the great commercial importance the opening Pacific had assumed and the myth that the Columbia River was a valuable port.³³ The overpowering importance of Pacific ports in the Oregon settlement is clear

in the mutual occupation clause of the Treaty of London.³⁴ The persistent government concern and hopeful consideration for the future in the Pacific remained constant and clear not only in J. B. Prevost's mission to reestablish American occupation but also in his assertion that:

The principal object of the President, in sending me thus far, was to obtain such information of the place, its access, and its commercial importance, as might enable him to submit to the consideration of Congress, measures for the protection and the extension of the establishment.³⁵

He reflected interest in the "extension of the establishment" by his open bid for the California coast, reminiscent of both Shaler's vision and Spanish fear.³⁶

After the war, therefore, the government had picked up the scattered skeins of merchant interest in the Pacific acting as Astor's protector. But now the pace quickened as a few farsighted statesmen reflected compounding economic interests³⁷ by carrying this standard of Pacific ports into first international and then national political arenas where through the next decade it would gain enough champions to become a full-blown issue.

A chance for a major step was seen and grasped in the Spanish-United States settlements of 1818-1819, and the resulting Adams-Onís Treaty is understandable only in the context and interplay of Spanish apprehension and acknowledged American desire for Pacific ports. All this American attention and growing strength in the Pacific had naturally deepened the concern of a Spain whose weakening position continued to be floutingly exploited by persistent and wily Yankee traders. Thus the Viceroy of Mexico was ordered by Spain in 1818 to establish a fort at the mouth of the Columbia River, "it being your responsibility to justify this project as you find it most convenient."³⁸ Onís assured his Spanish superiors that,

it is of the highest importance that it be occupied as soon as possible, with the purpose of protecting the possessions and the commerce of the Monarchy in that region, as the United States will not delay in carrying out its project of opening a route by that river to the South Sea.³⁹

When the frantic talks over Florida began in July, 1818, therefore, John Q. Adams, a major champion of the sea, entered the list for Pacific ports and drew in those talks the line which constituted the first major and explicit move of the United States government toward the actual possession of Pacific ports.⁴⁰ The impact of this new American policy was reflected in Onís's answer to Adam's demand of a border beginning at the Sabine, going up the Red River to 41° in the Snow Mountains and thence west to the sea:

What you add respecting the extension of the same line beyond the Missouri along the Spanish possessions to the Pacific Ocean exceeds, by its magnitude and its transcendency, all former demands and pretensions started by the United States.⁴¹

In the ensuing negotiations it became increasingly clear that both Onís and Adams considered this western line of great importance—that Pacific ports were a key issue. For not only did Adams see Onís's inability to cede anything on the Pacific as the chief obstacle to any agreement, but Adam's own clear vision of the sea can be gleaned in his reported refusal to compromise demands.⁴²

Nor was there any question about the motives involved, for when Onís offered a line at the Columbia River itself, he trusted this would be satisfactory to the President, "as it presents the means of realizing his great plan of extending a navigation from the Pacific to the remotest points of the Northern States and of the ocean. . . ." ⁴³ It was made clear also that these American merchant demands would be heard. For in less than three months, when his instructions were still too vague, Onís wrote Irujo that he needed instructions to go from the Red River to the Snowy Mountains and thence to 41° on the Pacific "and it is doubtful that this government will yield an inch from these limits."⁴⁴

The final settlement also laid bare the pre-eminent importance of the Pacific Coast, for while Spain had no means of effectively exploiting its claim to the Northwest Coast, it used it to good purpose in trading an almost abandoned Florida for a questionable but potentially threatening U.S. claim in Texas. Onís strengthened American animosity toward the cession of Texas by his remark that the treaty was in reality an exchange "of one small province for another of double the extent, richer and more fertile."⁴⁵ Yet Adams was not only proud of the results on the Pacific, but obviously saw this as only the first step onto the coast:

. . . the world shall be familiarized with the idea of considering our proper dominion to be the continent of North America . . . it [is] still more unavoidable that the remainder of the continent should ultimately be ours. But it is very lately that we have distinctly seen this ourselves; very lately that we have avowed the pretension of extending to the South Sea;⁴⁶

Adams' comment to Rush a few years later revealed not only his deepening conviction of American right to Pacific ports but also his assurance that he was no longer alone in his conviction:

It is not imaginable . . . that *any* European Nation should entertain the project of settling a *Colony* on the Northwest Coast of America. . . . That the United States should . . . is pointed out by the finger of Nature, and has been for years a subject of serious deliberation in Congress.⁴⁷

The New England commercial orientation for his maritime demands stood starkly clear when in answer to the Russian imperialistic threat Adams pointed to the New England merchant who had plied this sea "from the

period of the existence of the United States as an independent nation . . ." as the rock foundation of his conviction that the first place in the opening Pacific belonged to the American.⁴⁸ And his answer to British overtures clearly showed his unwillingness to bind acquiring American hands by co-operation with Canning against European intervention in former Spanish colonies. The Monroe message itself, therefore, was only a synthesis of commercially orientated policies already in operation.

But Adams had acquired only the Spanish claims. The English not only had an excellent claim to the Pacific Northwest, but had the interest and strength to protect it.⁴⁹ The United States government therefore could not rest in its quickening fight to protect the Pacific ports New England demanded. Thus Adams's succession of international thrusts to gain the right to ports were now supplemented nationally by a second major champion, John Floyd of Virginia, who introduced a bill to actually occupy the Columbia River and establish a territorial government over the whole Pacific Northwest.⁵⁰

New England's maritime influence was again so evident that Dickerson, a major enemy of the bill, knew he had struck home when he challenged, "What is the immediate pressure for such a force at this time? To protect our ships engaged in the whaling and fishing, and in the fur trade, and taking of sea otters."⁵¹ This commercial keynote in a drive for ports in an opening Pacific, a debate that lasted the decade, was sounded in Floyd's first report as Chairman of the Committee on the occupation of Oregon:

. . . the Columbia, in a commercial point of view, [is] a position of the utmost importance; the fisheries on that coast, its open sea, and its position in regard to China, which offers the best market for the vast quantities of furs taken in those regions, and our increasing trade throughout that ocean, seems to demand immediate attention.⁵²

This argument was reiterated and amplified by many, but by none more convincingly than Francis Baylies of Massachusetts, for "The objects which the bill contemplated were of much importance to a position of the country which he represented. . . ."⁵³ He saw the government protection of the Pacific trade as essential for the "most extensive whale fishery in the world . . ." which now required a port on the shores of the Pacific.⁵⁴

The all-embracing importance of ports in this political joust was again thrown into bold relief by the insignificance of the land as expressed by Robert Winthrop's shout, "We need ports on the Pacific. As to land, we have millions of acres of better land still unoccupied on this side of the mountains."⁵⁵ The whole Congress seemed to agree. For while it refused to set aside the bill, the third section concerning land grants to settlers was struck out with great force, and any attempt to salvage the establishment of a territorial government was lost.

But ports without the assurance of government protection were not enough. Drayton was only one to cut through the arguments of climate, territorial government, and endless others to insist that the only consideration of Congress should be to determine whether or not the area was of sufficient value to Americans to demand unflinching efforts to acquire it. His conclusion was that, "Upon these topics there is no diversity of sentiment; protection ought, therefore, to be given. . . ."⁵⁷ Floyd repeatedly insisted that "the best way to settle a new country was to leave it to the enterprise of private individuals, merely extending to them the arm of national protection."⁵⁸ But the time had come, he said at the end of 1828, for the government not only to protect American merchants but to grasp these ports. His reason was the same that had consistently dominated American government interest in the Pacific Coast since the Revolution—Pacific ports for China trade:

Our property in that ocean is too vast, and the value of the fur trade from those regions too great, longer to remain without the aid and protecting hand of this Government. . . . If we neglect this opportunity, the loss to our commerce and our country will be irreparable. The trade, as connected with that coast, is so blended with two other branches of commerce, that it is almost impossible to separate them . . . the Northwest, as it is called, the South Sea, and the Canton trade.⁵⁹

But it soon became clear that by this time Floyd represented more than just eastern Massachusetts' established interests in Pacific ports. Thus Benton (with whom Floyd was in close contact through the whole decade of battle) and Floyd himself both wrote of the influence of Ramsey Crooks of New York and Russell Farnham of Massachusetts, who had been associated with Astor in his Astoria project. Both Crooks and Farnham had lived at the same Washington hotel as Floyd and Benton during the period of debate, and it was from them that Floyd gained "many interesting facts relative to this country."⁶⁰ Floyd held out the tempting assurance that Astor was even now "ready to vest in that pursuit, several hundred thousand dollars . . . as soon as this republic will extend to her citizens . . . protection."⁶¹

The sources of rumbles for the coast were not only becoming more numerous, but also more varied. By 1824 Floyd could tap interest in Pacific ports far removed from New England and New York and could refer to precedent in his insistence that these established commercial interests deserved governmental attention:

. . . I am also informed, that other large capitalists in the Western Country, and in Virginia are willing to embark in the same pursuit: among these may be named, Louis A. Tarascoo, of Shippingpot, Ken. known . . . as one of the most accomplished merchants . . . whose . . . commercial views have been useful, and deserve the most respectful attention of the government.⁶²

As the demand for Pacific ports emerged in the 1820's into a major national issue, Massachusetts' voices were not only led by a Virginian's but supple-

mented by those from places as far distant as Kentucky, Maryland, South Carolina, Ohio, and Louisiana.⁶³

There were the same interested glances down the coast and out to sea that had characterized the three decades of American activity in the Pacific. Trimble argued that "By the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Oregon . . . we may command the trade of China, Japan, and East Indies and the North Pacific. That ocean is the richest sea in the world, and is as yet without a master."⁶⁴ With his recommendations that posts be established without delay, Jessup commented "The establishment might be considered as a great bastion, commanding the whole line of coast to the North and South. . . ."⁶⁵

But for all the fight and vision the bill died in the Senate, an indication that the arguments of its enemies were still more convincing. The fear of infringing on the renewed joint occupation agreement with England, the accusation that the trade drained both specie and population needed in the East, and especially that the Pacific Coast was too far from American occupied territory to be either conveniently reached or a permanent part of the Union⁶⁶ were repeated over and over. And these would not be satisfactorily answered until even deeper economic involvement demanded further diplomacy.⁶⁷

But to imply that these early political champions of Pacific ports were defeated would not tell the whole story. It seems possible that they had no intention of actually passing the Floyd bill, for parts of it were an obvious open violation of the joint occupation treaties with England. The real object seems to have been to keep the matter before the nation in preparation for further negotiations and a new treaty. Everett intimated this when in early 1829 he feared "an impression should go abroad among the people of the United States, that the territory in question was of little consideration in the judgment of the House. If . . . such a result should be produced, the question on the territory would stand worse than if it had never been agitated."⁶⁸

If the object had been interest, success was obvious by the end of 1828 when Richardson said, "Another, and yet another company are asking similar aid and protection."⁶⁹ For not only did Kelley and Wyeth of New England step forward when Floyd retired from the fight, but there had been memorials from groups in Maryland, Massachusetts, Louisiana, and Ohio urging the bill be passed so they might go to the Oregon coast—but with government protection.⁷⁰ In the early 1820's, the *Niles' Register* caught the pulse of the push and transmitted it to the public:

A settlement at the mouth of the *Columbia* has been seriously advocated in Congress, and will soon be made under the sanction of government. . . .⁷¹

The same note was sounded by the *Ohio State Journal* a few years later and with even clearer commercial emphasis:

One fourth part of this territory, that part which contains the Oregon harbor, will, at a future day, enter the Republican Confederacy as Oregon State; and the City of Oregon, will arise on its banks, which shall rival New York or Philadelphia in their commerce and population. Then the busy hum of commerce and the shouts of free-men, shall re-echo from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans.⁷²

Thus if circumstances will hamstrung possession, by 1828 Reed of Massachusetts could without too much exaggeration claim the interest of the whole country when he sponsored a survey of the coast and harbors of the Pacific:

Those engaged in the fur trade, and all other commerce in the Pacific, which is now very considerable, and is rapidly increasing, are deeply interested in the resolutions now under consideration. Commerce, the farming interest, and manufacturing interest, are all deeply interested in the safe navigation of those vast seas; in fact, our whole country is directly or indirectly interested.⁷³

And so the New England merchant's cry for government interest in his move into the Pacific had been heard and heeded through three decades. After the dynamic activity and vibrant interest of the first decade had been suspended by the War of 1812, Americans had turned their attention west with an eagerness that rapidly widened and deepened economic investment. And these new interests were accompanied by demands for further political action. Therefore, by the time Jackson's administration burst upon the country, many of the factors that would combine to demand first even greater government attention, and then government moves toward possession, were already present. Surely by the end of the 1820's the New England merchant had made his case clear. By this time, too, there was no question about the value of the China trade nor of its dependence on Pacific ports. The Boston merchant, then, had planted his roots in the Pacific firmly, and as these roots produced ever greater promise, he made stronger demands with assurance that they would not only be understood by his countrymen but answered by his government.

NOTES

1. Henry F. Howe, *Salt Rivers of the Massachusetts Shore* (New York, 1951), 232-233; Samuel W. Woodhouse, "Log and Journal of the Ship *United States* on a Voyage to China in 1784," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LV (April, 1931), 225-226. That Americans had clearly assessed their situation and were satisfied with their response to it was clear as early as 1801. "The people of the United States are, perhaps, more distinguished than those of Europe as a people of business . . . , the habit has grown out of the necessities of their situation. . . ." *The American Review and Literary Journal*, I (January, 1801), Preface. *American Periodical Series* (1800-1825), Reel 3.

2. The *Harriet* of Hingham had set out earlier than *Empress of China* but had exchanged ginseng for tea when met by British merchants at Cape Good Hope: Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts 1783-1860* (Boston, 1941), 44. On Morris to Jay see Woodhouse, "Log and Journal of the Ship *United States*," 225.

3. Adams to Jay, Grosvenor Square, Westminster, November 5, 1785, Charles F. Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams* (New York, 1853), VIII, 342. See also James Duncan Phillips, *Salem and the Indies* (Boston, 1947), 45. William Green to Champlin, Boston, May 18, 1784, Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Commerce of Rhode Island 1775-1800*, in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, LXX, 207, n. 1. (Hereinafter cited as M.H.S. Colls.) Charles Thomson was Secretary of the Continental Congress, 1774-July 23, 1789, who in the absence of the President often acted as an executive.

4. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXVIII (June 9, 1785), 442-443; XXIX (September 1, 1785), 673-674. See also *Papers of the Continental Congress, Despatch Book*, IV, (December 21, 1788), 35. Reel 197, Item. 185.

5. Richard Henry Lee to James Madison, New York, May 30, 1785, James Custer Ballagh, ed., *The Letters of Richard Henry Lee* (New York, 1911), II, 366.

6. The *Empress of China* was to have gone by the Cape Horn route, probably on the basis of information supplied by John Ledyard. Although William Duer, one of Morris's partners, refused this plan as an unnecessary danger, one or two of the other six ships being outfitted by the company were to go by the Horn route to the Pacific Northwest. This plan was also abandoned, however. Clarence Ver Steeg, "Financing and Outfitting the First United States Ship to China," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXII (March, 1953), 5-6. John Ledyard's account of Cook's voyage was published in Hartford in 1783: see Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation: A History of the United States during the Confederation 1781-1789* (New York, 1950), 209.

7. The protective interest of the government in the Kendrick and Gray voyage was clear. Gray not only carried a letter with the signature of Governor John Hancock, but also one from Washington and Jefferson: Stewart H. Holbrook, *The Columbia* (New York, 1956), 30. Kendrick and Gray also carried letters from the Spanish minister to the United States recommending them to the Viceroy of New Spain: Charles H. Carey, *A General History of Oregon Prior to 1861* (Portland, 1946), I, 86. That both the importance of finding exchangeable goods and the consequent change in economy was clear at the opening of the nineteenth century is evident in statements like "Till lately China was wont to receive more of silver and of valuable raw material, for those of its exports . . ." in "Sketch of Commercial, Agricultural and Manufacturing Economy of China," *Connecticut Magazine*, I (January, 1801), 23. *American Periodical Series*, Reel 15. Carey suggests that the first vessel to the Northwest Coast to trade for furs for the China market was the *Eleanora* under Captain Metcalf in the summer of 1788: *A General History of Oregon*, I, 85.

8. By the early 1790's the route to China via Vancouver was firmly established. When the *Columbia* returned to Boston in 1790, fourteen American ships had already sailed for China: Albert Bushnell Hart, *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts Colony, Province and State* (New York, 1927-1928), III, 535-537. Bancroft records 108 American vessels on the Northwest Coast from 1790 to 1818 but Dulles shows 144 from 1804 to 1809. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast* (San Francisco, 1884), I, 359; Foster Rhea Dulles, *The Old China Trade* (Boston, 1930), 106. Merk quotes British records as showing 214 American vessels on trading voyages to China and India in 1818. Frederick Merk, *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon Problem* (Cambridge, 1950), 43. Thomas H. Perkins sent chiefly to China via the Northwest Coast—by the early nineteenth century no private firm in the world did more business in the China trade. William B. Weedon, *Economic and Social History of New England*

1620-1789 (Boston, 1890), II, 822; see also Sturgis, "The Northwest Fur Trade and the Indians of the Oregon Country 1788-1830," *The Old South Leaflets*, IX, no. 219, 9.

9. The plea for individual states to relinquish power to regulate trade to the central government recurs frequently. *Journal of the Continental Congress*, XXVI (February 6, 1784), 71; XXVI (April 22, 1784), 270-271, XXX (January 2, 1786), 7. For the intensity of these efforts see Adams to Jay, Bath Hotel, Westminster, June 26, 1785, *The Works of John Adams*, VIII, 273; Adams to Jay, July 19, 1785, *ibid.*, VIII, 273-275, 281-283. A proposal to create an American company comparable to the East India Company was voted down in 1786, however, for Congress held it better if commercial relations be carried on by individuals. Dorothy O. Johansen and Charles M. Gates, *Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York, 1957), 58.

10. *Annals of Congress*, 1st Cong., 3rd sess. (June 23, 1790), 1703. *Ibid.* (January 20, 1791), 1921-1922. A typical example of general pleas is a memorial of merchants trading to India and China "praying such encouragement and protection as in their wisdom Congress shall deem expedient, . . ." *Ibid.* (January 24, 1791), 1792; see also 1st Cong., 1st sess. (March 1, 1792), 98; 2nd Cong., 2nd sess. (January 22, 1793), 834; 3rd Cong., 1st sess. (May 16, 1794), 100-101.

11. For growth of imports see Shu-Lun Pan, *The Trade of the United States with China* (New York, 1924), 8; also Emory P. Johnson, *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States* (Washington, 1915), II, 16-29. On Pickering's protest see Roy Nichols, *Advance Agents of American Destiny* (Philadelphia, 1941), 56.

12. From the narrative of Meares, September 17, 1788, Robert Greenhow, *The History of Oregon and California and the Other Territories on the North-west Coast of North America* (Boston, 1847), 181.

13. Pedro Fages to Josef Arguello, May 13, 1789, quoted in Cardinal Goodwin, *The Trans-Mississippi West (1803-1853) A History of Its Acquisition and Settlement* (New York, 1922), 424.

14. "Observations on the Islands of Juan Fernandez, Massafuero, and St. Ambrose, in the South Pacific Ocean, and the Coast of Chili, in South America. Extracted from the Journal of Mr. Bernard Magee, first Officer of the Ship *Jefferson*, in the late Voyage around the Globe," M.H.S. *Colls.*, IV, 251.

15. The early establishment of a consular system by the federal government to nurture developing trade was cause of much foreign comment. Although the first large group—fifteen—was appointed in June, 1790, Samuel Shaw had been made consul to Canton six years earlier. When the War of 1812 stopped much trade, all consulates in the East were abandoned except Canton. Seward W. Livermore, "Early Commercial and Consular Relations with the East Indies," *The Pacific Historical Review*, XV (March, 1946), 34-41. Nichols holds a consular system was not formally established until 1792: Nichols, *Advanced Agents of American Destiny*, 31.

16. Quoted in George Lockhard Rives, *The United States and Mexico, 1821-1848* (New York, 1913), II, 45.

17. This was especially true in California where settlements, cut off from Spanish supply and thirsty for manufactured goods, sought American merchants. It is interesting to note that the first export to the "Northwest Coast of America (October 1, 1790—September 30, 1791)" suggests the same pattern—for such things as "yellow and Green Earthen ware," axes, hoes, cooking utensils, dry goods were listed: *American State Papers, Commerce and Navigation*, I, 12.

18. William Shaler, "Journal of a Voyage Between China and the North-western Coast of America Made in 1804," *American Register*, III (1808), 161. In connection with Shaler's Journal see "Krusenstern's Voyage and Researches," *The North American Review*, XXV (July, 1827), 1-32; *ibid.* (October, 1827), 458-464.

19. Jefferson to George Rogers Clark, December 4, 1783, included in a letter to John Marshall: Reuben Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806* (New York, 1904), VII, 193. For a variety of analysis and interpretation see Goodwin, *Trans-Mississippi West*, 32; Richard Van Alstyne, *The Rising American Empire* (New York, 1960), 79; and Joseph Schaefer, "The Western Ocean as a Determinant in Oregon History," in *The Pacific Ocean in History*, eds. H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton (New York, 1917), 291.

20. Jefferson to Jay, Marseilles, August 14, 1785, Paul L. Ford, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1895) VII, 373. See also Abraham P. Nasatir, *French Activities in California* (Stanford, 1945), 39, n. 5. Carey says on this point that La Pérouse was outfitted in Brest and it was here Jefferson sent Jones: Carey, *A General History of Oregon*, I, 110.

21. Jefferson to Ezra Stiles, Paris, September 1, 1786, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, IV, 298; Jefferson to Charles Thomson, Paris, September 20, 1787, *ibid.*, IV, 447-448; "Autobiography," *ibid.*, I, 94-95. See also Jared Sparks, "The Life of John Ledyard," *North American Review*, XXVII (July, 1828), 363-365.

22. *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, VI, 160. He pointed to the same object for Michaux as he later would for Lewis, "... chief objects of your journey are to find the shortest and most convenient route of communication between the United States and the Pacific Ocean. . . ." Instructions to André Michaux, January, 1793, *ibid.*, VI, 159. This project was abortive, however, for it required collaboration with France and fulfillment of the alliance of 1778 to which the Washington administration was opposed: Van Alstyne, *The Rising American Empire*, 80.

23. Jefferson to Monroe, November 24, 1801, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, VIII, 105. "Confidential Message on Expedition to the Pacific," January 18, 1803, *ibid.*, VIII, 201. Instructions to Lewis, Washington, June 20, 1803, *ibid.*, VIII, 194. The immediate recognition of the value of information received from Lewis and Clark and Freeman inspired the establishment of a Committee on Western Waters which recommended that money be appropriated annually for surveys: *Annals of Congress*, 9th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 22, 1806), 193-194.

24. Jefferson to Lewis, Washington, July 15, 1803, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, VIII, 200.

25. Quoted in Schaefer, "The Western Ocean as a Determinant in Oregon History," in *The Pacific Ocean in History*, 290.

26. Astor to the Secretary of State, New York, January 4, 1823, *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (1822-1823), Appendix, 1211. An even greater nationalism was soon attributed to Astor, who "knowing that it was the wish of the government of the United States to divert the trade from the British to American hands, undertook to accomplish this object with his own arm." *Hunt's Merchant Magazine*, III (August, 1840), 197. An attempt had been made to establish a trading post on the Columbia earlier by the Winship brothers of Boston in 1810; they had, however, been driven out by the antagonism of the Indians: Carey, *A General History of Oregon*, I, 172-173.

27. Adams to Rush, Washington, July 22, 1823, *Annals of Congress*, 19th Cong., 1st

sess., 30. It is interesting to note that the little schooner brought for coasting trade was called the *Dolly*: F. W. Howay, "The Fur Trade in Northwestern Development," in *The Pacific Ocean in History*, 278.

28. Quoted in Bernard De Voto, *The Course of Empire* (Boston, 1952), 538.

29. Lawrence F. Abbott, "New York and Astoria," *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, XVIII (January, 1927), 21. Also see Astor to Monroe, New York, February, n. d., 1813, *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess., 1213-1215. Irving makes it clear that Jefferson and his whole cabinet warmly approved of Astor's plan: Washington Irving, *Astoria or Anecdotes of an Enterprise Beyond the Rocky Mountains*, ed. Edgeley W. Todd (Norman, Oklahoma, 1964), 33. Astor's letter to Jefferson, New York, March 14, 1812, is especially revealing on this point. "The Government, say the President and heads of Executive Departments, are well informed of the situation of the American Fur Company, as no step of importance has been taken without their previous approbation. . . ." Quoted in Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *John Jacob Astor Business Man* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), Document 57, I, 508. This government interest in the Astor project was widely known. An article in *Hunt's Magazine* noted that "he received strong assurance of countenance from the cabinet of Mr. Jefferson and promises to support the enterprise in any proper way." *Hunt's Merchant Magazine*, III (August, 1840), 197.

30. Cox, *Columbia River*, 50-51, n. 2; Carey, *A General History of Oregon*, I, 175. Also, when, through the influence of Gallatin and Madison, Astor's son-in-law, Bentzon, went to arrange Northwest trade with Russia, he gave such a strong impression that "he was going to Russia on business deeply interesting to the United States" that the stateroom of the envoy being sent to Denmark, the original purpose of the voyage, was given Bentzon: Porter, *John Jacob Astor Business Man*, I, 194-196.

31. Monroe's Instructions to Ghent, March 22, 1814, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations* III, 731. Although Duncan McDougall, an Astor employee, had sold out to the Northwest Company when he heard of the war, when the Englishman, Captain Black, came with the *Raccoon* he took formal possession. It was this act of a perhaps drunken Black that justified the United States' demand of restoration under the terms of Ghent: Cox, *The Columbia River*, xxvi. See also Philip C. Brooks, *Diplomacy and the Borderlands: The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819* (Berkeley, 1939), 52, and Merk, *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon Problem*, 24.

32. Monroe to Anthony St. John Baker, July 19, 1815, Philip C. Brooks, "The Pacific Coast's First International Boundary Delineation, 1816-1819," *Pacific Historical Review*, III (March, 1934), 64. During the war, Astor, after several requests and some pressure, got assurance the *John Adams* would be sent to protect Astoria, but in July, 1813, the situation on the Great Lakes demanded that the ship go there: Porter, *John Jacob Astor Business Man*, I, 219.

33. Richard Van Alstyne, *American Diplomacy in Action* (Stanford, 1944), 494-495. Although seamen had early recognized the hazards of the Columbia River estuary, these hazards were not generally realized for some time. John Quincy Adams, for instance, was convinced only in 1822 by "Bill" Sturgis's series of letters in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*: Norman Graebner, *Empire on the Pacific* (New York, 1955), 29; Merk, *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon Problem*, 22, n. 21. Still President Adams knew he reflected the Senate and the temper of the nation when he demanded the 49°. "One inch of ground (beyond the 49th parallel) yielded on the North-West coast . . . would be certain to meet the reprobation of the Senate." Adams to Gallatin, March 20, 1827, *ibid.*, 10.

34. "... that any country claimed by either party, on the Northwest coast of America, west of the Stony mountains, shall, together with its harbors, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open for the term of ten years, from the date of the convention, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two powers." *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 21, 1824), 40. It was the continuance of the popular idea of the value of the Columbia River as a port that plagued every move of the United States government toward settling possession. Both in the original settlement and again in the 1826 renewal of the joint occupation the English therefore would not accept the 49°. A clear expression of this attitude is in a letter of George Canning to Liverpool in which he points to the trade between the Coast and China as the "most susceptible and rapid augmentation and improvement . . . We cannot yet enter into this trade, on account of monopoly of the E(ast) I(ndia) C(ompany). But . . . that monopoly will cease, and though at that point neither you nor I shall be where we are to answer for our deeds, I should not like to leave my name affixed to an instrument by which England would have forgone the advantage of an immense direct intercourse." Quoted in Joseph Schaefer, "The British Attitude toward the Oregon Question, 1815-1846," *American Historical Review*, XVI (January, 1911), 292. Benton spoke of Canning's effort to block any American attempt to occupy Oregon Territory: *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (February 17, 1823), 249. These mutually exclusive East India Company and Northwest Company monopolies referred to by Canning actually played into the hands of the developing American Northwest-China trade, for Americans carried a lot of the English furs: J. B. Prevost to Secretary of State, Monterey, New California, November 11, 1818, *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess., 1209. After unsuccessful attempts to use English ships in the trade, Canadians began dealing through Thomas Perkins of Boston after 1815: Marion O'Neil, "The Maritime Activities of the Northwest Company, 1813-1821," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XXI (October, 1930), 243-267. See also Howay, "The Fur Trade in Northwestern Development," in *The Pacific Ocean in History*, 279.

35. Benton repeating what Prevost had said in 1818: *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (February 17, 1823), 249. Actually Prevost was taken from Lima to Astoria in a British warship, the *Blossom*: *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess., 1206-1210; *ibid.*, 246-248.

36. "The port of St. Francis is one of the most convenient, extensive, and safe in the world, wholly without defence, and in the neighborhood of a feeble, diffused, and disaffected population. Under all these circumstances, may we not infer views to the early possession of this harbor, and ultimately to the sovereignty of the entire California?" Prevost to Secretary of State Monroe, November 11, 1818, *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess., 1209-1210. Not only was information on Prevost requested by Johnson of Louisiana, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 18, 1822), 430, but the above letter was read into the *Annals of Congress*, and Monroe's answer and the documents accompanying it were published in the *Niles' Register*, May 4, 1822.

37. British records show that in 1818, 214 American vessels were on trading voyages to China and India: Merk, *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon Problem*, 43. The *Niles' Register*, October 30, 1819, noted that whaling was bigger than ever now, with nearly 100 ships on the Northwest Coast from New England. On August 14, 1819, the *Niles' Register* reported that 60 American ships were at that moment in the Pacific. One crew returning from the Pacific reported that they had met 57 American and 6 French whalers: *Niles' Register*, January 29, 1820. As early as 1820 a Baltimore engineer, Robert Mills, the designer of the Washington Monument, pushed for a railroad be-

tween the Missouri and the Columbia rivers; the economic possibilities were therefore starkly clear: Oscar Osborn Winther, *The Transportation Frontier, Trans-Mississippi West 1865-1890* (New York, 1964), 98.

38. Quoted in Brooks, "The Pacific Coast's First International Boundary Delineation, 1816-1819," 70.

39. Onís to Pizarro, March 3, 1818, *ibid.*

40. In his Diary of February 22, 1819, Adams noted "The first proposal of it in this negotiation was my own. . . . I first introduced it in the written proposal of 31st October last. . . ." Allan Nevins, ed., *The Diary of John Quincy Adams, 1794-1845* (New York, 1951), Feb. 22, 1819, 211-12. For Adams's proposal see *Annals of Congress*, 15th Cong. 2nd sess., Appendix, 1903. See also *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV, 530-31.

41. Onís to Adams, November 16, 1818, *Annals of Congress*, 15th Cong., 2nd sess., 1903. Until November, 1818, Onís had orders to insist on a line up the Missouri River to 49°, eliminating the United States from the Northwest. But Spain did not gain British support in 1818 and thus the orders were relaxed: Van Alstyne, *American Diplomacy in Action*, 479. That Spain was familiar with American hopes, however, was clear in a memorandum of 1817 by Narcisco Heredia, Ferdinand VII's expert on American affairs, in which he made it clear Spain could not expect the United States to give up all of Louisiana, especially the Columbia River, for American plans for the fur trade there were obvious: Brooks, "The Pacific's First International Boundary Delineation, 1816-1819," 67.

42. The position of the western line in the negotiations is clear in a letter of Onís to Pizarro, October 31, 1818, *ibid.*, 67-69, 77.

43. Onís to Adams, January 16, 1819, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III, 615-616. Also see *Annals of Congress*, 15th Cong., 2nd sess., 2110.

44. Onís to Irujo, January 4, 1819, Brooks, "The Pacific Coast's First International Boundary Delineation, 1816-1819," 71.

45. William R. Manning, "Texas and the Boundary Issue, 1822-1829," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVII (January, 1914), 218. Onís's view was not totally shared in Spain, however, for the treaty was not ratified for two years. It was thought Spain had sacrificed too much, especially on the Pacific: Brooks, "The Pacific Coast's First International Boundary, 1816-1819," 75.

46. Charles Francis Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (Philadelphia, 1875), IV, 438-439. See also Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny A Study of Nationalist Expansion in American History* (Baltimore, 1935), 61; and Carey, *A General History of Oregon*, II, 424. That Adams could have had the 41° boundary is shown in a letter of Onís to Irujo, February 8, 1819, in which he said he would ask for another adjustment on the Pacific "and if this should not be obtained, to sign the treaty in these terms (41°)," Brooks, "The Pacific Coast's First International Boundary. Delineation, 1816-1819," . . . 73. On February 9, however, Adams, against his will, did accept the 42° for Monroe even favored the 43°: Van Alstyne, *American Diplomacy in Action*, 479-480. It was known in the United States that Adams could have had "much more territory than he did." *Annals of Congress*, 16th Cong., 1st sess. (January 27, 1820), 948.

47. Adams to Rush, July 22, 1823, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V, 4447. See also *Annals of Congress*, 19th Cong., 1st sess., Appendix, 31. Merk suggests this non-colonization pronouncement was considered wild and impolitic at the time: Merk, *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon Problem*, 51.

48. This was in response to Alexander's ukase of 1821, stating that the whole coast of North America north of 51° was exclusively Russian. This ukase was received in Washington in February, 1822, through Chevalier de Poletica, the Russian minister: Goodwin, *The Trans-Mississippi West*, 201. That Adams had intense popular backing in this block to Russian pretensions is clear in the *Niles' Register*, XXI (December 29, 1821), XXI (February 16, 1822), and XXII (July 27, 1822).

49. See note 34 above. Expressed public opinion on the Oregon question was conspicuously absent in the British press and in Parliament. But the Hudson's Bay Company, in the interest of ports, was the biggest block in a settlement of the border: Merk, *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon Problem*, 38-39.

50. *Annals of Congress*, 16th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 20, 1820), 679. Although Van Alstyne in *The Rising American Empire*, 96, states that this bill was administration sponsored, Ambler implies it was not, and that Floyd probably meant to force the President and his cabinet officially to recognize our rights in the area of the Columbia. Ambler, *The Life and Diary of John Floyd*, 62. Monroe recommended a military post at the Columbia in 1822 and so did Adams at the opening of the 19th Congress: *Annals of Congress*, 20th Cong., 2nd sess. (January 7, 1829), 189.

51. *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess., (February 26, 1825), 691.

52. *Annals of Congress*, 16th Cong., 2nd sess. (January 25, 1821), 951.

53. *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 18, 1822), 413. Stratford Canning saw Baylies' Report as "almost tantamount to a declaration of War." Merk, *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon Problem*, 55. He violently opposed the discussion in Congress and was especially upset by an article in the *National Intelligencer*, January 26, 1821, signed by Senator Eaton and therefore considered semi-official, which discussed a project to establish a colony on the Pacific: Carey, *A General History of Oregon*, II, 431.

54. *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 18, 1822), 413.

55. Norman Graebner, "Maritime Factors in the Oregon Compromise," *The Pacific Historical Review*, XX (November, 1951), 332.

56. *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 20, 1824), 27-28; *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 22, 1824), 44.

57. *Annals of Congress*, 20th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 31, 1828), 143.

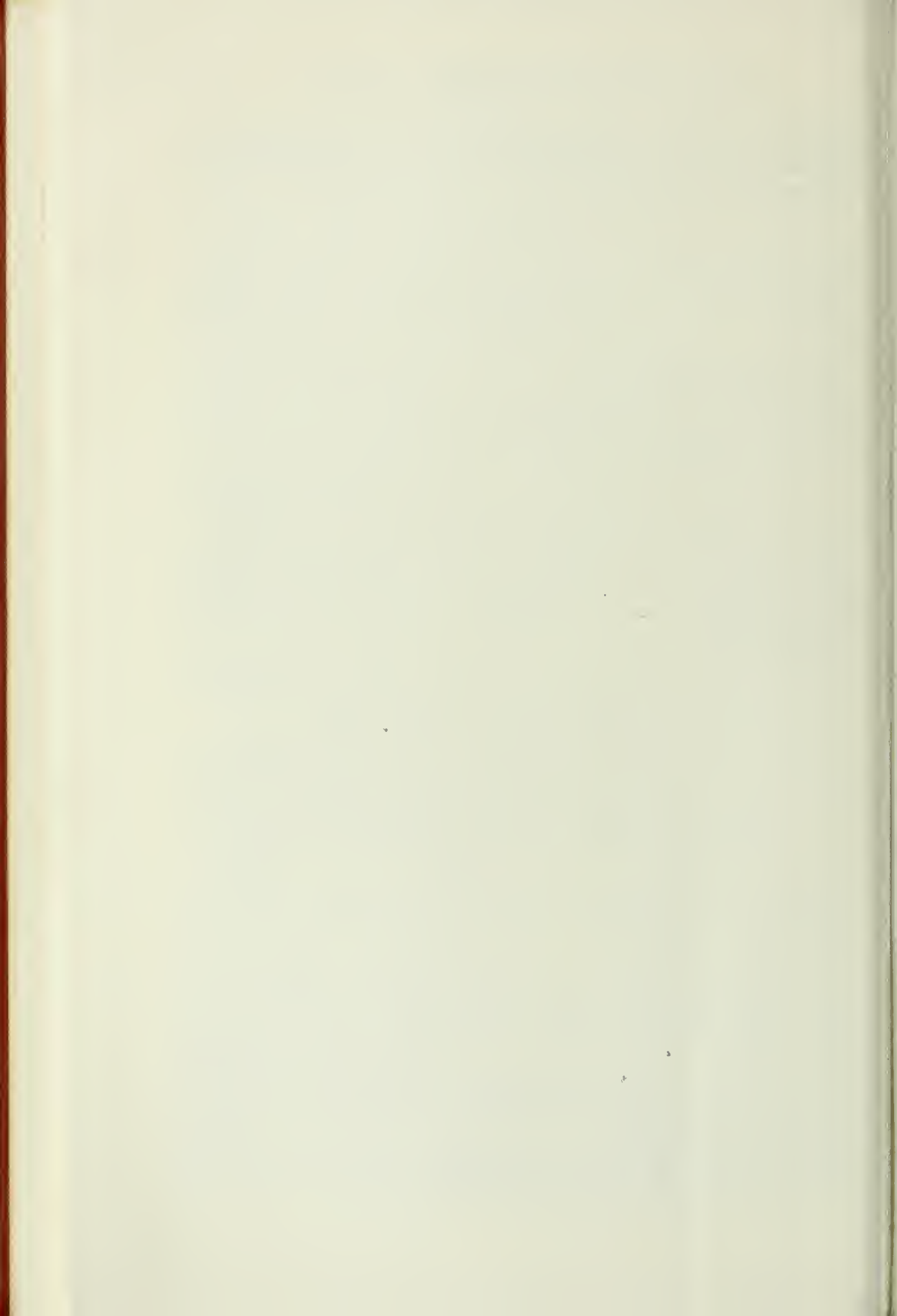
58. *Annals of Congress*, 20th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 23, 1828), 125.

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 20, 1824), 23. See also Thomas Hart Benton, *Thirty Years' View* (New York, 1854), I, 13. Ramsey Crooks, first with the Northwest Company, joined Astor in 1810 but soon became disgusted and returned East. It was later as a prominent American businessman that he was influential in directing John Floyd to the importance of Oregon to the United States: Cox, *The Columbia River*, 58, n. 16. See also Schaefer, "The British Attitude toward the Oregon Question, 1815-1846," 288, n. 44; and Charles Ambler, "The Oregon Country, 1810-1930, A Chapter in Territorial Expansion," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXX (June, 1943), 22-23.

61. *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 20, 1824), 23. Soon after the peace Astor had written Thomas Wilson in London, "I have partly resolved not to engage in any european business unless something would occasionally be done in Exchange, my object will be to the Canton trade. . . ." Porter, *John Jacob Astor Business Man*, II, 590; see also *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 18, 1822), 430.

62. *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 20, 1824), 23-24.
63. *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (January 25, 1823), 692-695; 20th Cong., 2nd sess. (January 6, 1829), 168-169.
64. *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 21, 1824), 40.
65. *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 1st sess. (April 6, 1824), 2348.
66. *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (January 13, 1823), 598-600; 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (February 26, 1825), 691; 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 21, 1824), 37-38; 20th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 30, 1828), 136. Floyd, Benton and others answered this objection most often by accepting Jefferson's idea of a separate republic, but urging it be peopled with Americans: *Annals of Congress*, 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (March 1, 1825), 712; 18th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 20, 1824), 14-16. Baylies offered a more interesting answer. He held with "only . . . a slaveholding and a non-slaveholding interest, the hazard of separation would be greatly increased"; but more states would give diverse interests and therefore the calm to ride out conflicts: *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 18, 1822), 416-417.
67. See Herman J. Deutch, "Economic Imperialism in the Early Pacific Northwest," *The Pacific Historical Review*, IX (December, 1940), *passim*. The rise of the New England cotton textile factories upon the China trade foundations was especially influential, for now the Orient became an important market as well as a source of goods. The *Niles' Register* noted on May 30, 1829, "The American trade appears to be on a very respectable footing in Canton. . . . There is a large demand for cotton yarn. . . ." The activities of purchasing agents and the establishment of permanent depots for the hides and tallow trade were important in the economic penetration of the California coast.
68. Although when originally introduced Floyd's bill had seemed radical, by December, 1824, Monroe had formally recommended it, and the vote in both houses gained substantially: Merk, *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon Problem*, 7, also 22, n. 21.
69. *Annals of Congress*, 20th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 30, 1828), 141.
70. Floyd to John William, December 27, 1830, Ambler, *The Life and Diary of John Floyd*, 100. After declining re-election to Congress and retiring in January, 1829, probably expecting a place on Jackson's cabinet which he did not get, Floyd became governor of Virginia January 9, 1830. Floyd's encouragement of Kelley was clear when in February, 1828, he presented to Congress "Memorial of the Citizens of the United States" asking for aid in establishing settlements in the area of the Columbia River—and this memorial was Kelley's. Ray Billington, *Westward Expansion A History of the American Frontier; 1830-1860* (New York, 1956), 514. Regarding memorials, see *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd sess. (February 22, 1823); 20th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 23, 1828), 126; 20th Cong., 2nd sess. (December 24, 1828), 145.
71. *Niles' Register*, April 5, 1823. The Oregon question got wide attention in the press; see the *Niles' Register*, December 15, 1821; December 22, 1821; January 3, 1822; January 26, 1822; February 3, 1822; April 20, 1822; December 25, 1824; January 1, 1825. Another reflection of popular ambition is found in the maps of the time. John Melish of Philadelphia, the official cartographer for the government, printed a map in 1816 showing the Louisiana Purchase in green; it went from the Rio Grande to 52° on the North and took in the whole Pacific Coast to San Francisco: Van Alstyne, *The Rising American Empire*, 95.
72. *Ohio State Journal*, 1825, quoted by Dan Clark in "Manifest Destiny and the Pacific," *The Pacific Historical Review*, I (March, 1930), 5.
73. *Annals of Congress*, 20th Cong., 1st sess. (May 19, 1828), 2731.



Musical Activities and Ceremonies at Mission Santa Clara de Asís

By JOSEPH HALPIN

WHEN THE PADRES ESTABLISHED their missions, one of the first things they did was to organize a choir and orchestra to supply music for divine worship. Their hopes for musicians rested in the natives—as only two padres took charge of a mission—therefore, the early musical training of Indian boys and men was essential. The padres selected their musicians on the basis of voice quality, intelligence, and aptitude. These “chosen ones” were the envy of other Indians as most Indians delighted in taking part in mission celebrations. Every Indian family had an ambition to have a member in the mission choir or orchestra.¹

Though Mission Santa Clara de Asís was founded by Father Junípero Serra on January 12, 1777, it was from 1794 to 1833 that the mission flourished. This was the result of the excellent leadership of two padres, Father Magín Catalá and Father José Viader, the intelligence of the Santa Clara Indians, and the rich agricultural resources of the valley.²

Father Catalá, formerly chaplain at Friendly Cove, Nootka Island, arrived at the mission in 1794, and labored there until his death November 22, 1830. He became known as the “Holy Man of Santa Clara” because of a religious spirit which was more intense than his interest in earthly matters. It is said that he was never seen to smile, and he had a monkish fear of the wiles of women, from whom he habitually averted his face, even somewhat shading it with his cowl when talking to them.³ His piety was such that he was shocked at the loose morals of the nearby citizens of the pueblo San José de Guadalupe. He arranged to have a tree lined avenue built from that pueblo to the front door of the mission, thus offering salvation to the errants. When few citizens of the pueblo came to the mission, Father Catalá promoted the construction of a separate church in San José. The residents, despite their carnal habits, respected this “Holy Man of Santa Clara,” and built a church which took nine years to construct.

Despite his asceticism, Father Catalá instructed the Indians in the Christian doctrines of the Church and took care of their spiritual needs. He possessed a love for the young Indian children, staging for them Christmas plays, called *pastorelas* or *Los Pastores de Belén*, in which they all took part.

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Father Catalá's companion, Father José Viader, arrived in 1795 and remained at the mission until 1833 when representatives of the rebel Mexican government forced him to leave because of his loyalty to Spain. While Father Catalá devoted himself to the mission's spiritual activities, Father Viader attended to more every-day matters, such as arranging music for the choir, training Indians to sing and play, exploring new territories for more missions, and, when necessary, punishing the unruly. He supervised the vaqueros, agricultural workers, and industrial workshops in which Indian laborers forged iron, tanned hides, worked at carpentry, and other trades.

During the administration of Father Catalá and Viader, Mission Santa Clara became agriculturally one of the richer in California. By 1800 it maintained 1,247 residents. In its entire history there were 8,640 converts, almost 2,000 more than any other mission. This large population not only learned practical skills, but selected members also learned music for the mission church services.

Father Viader fostered the growth and development of music at the mission by instructing, rehearsing, and copying music parts for the Indians. His choir and orchestra soon came to be well known, the latter not only for their fine playing but for their resplendant uniforms purchased from a French merchant ship at Monterey. DeMofras, in 1841, wrote that Father Viader "purchased from a French whaler [sic] thirty complete uniforms and organized a band of musicians."⁴ Later records report that when Alvarado and Castro stationed their troops at the secularized mission, the soldiers stole not only horses, saddles, cattle, blankets, but also "twenty-two suits of fine red cloth worn by the Mission band."⁵

On religious feast days and other special events, the orchestra doubled the choir parts and supplied additional music for the Mass. When the group of musicians traveled to Santa Cruz in 1841 for the Exhaltation of the Holy Cross, DeMofras wrote:

It was not without keen surprise that we heard musicians brought over from Santa Clara, singing the *Marseillaise*, as the congregation rose, and escorted the procession singing *Vive Henri IV*. After Mass, upon asking one of the fathers how these Indians happened to know these airs, I was informed that one of his predecessors had bought a small organ from France and that the Indians, after hearing the airs, had instinctively arranged the songs for use by the various instruments.⁶

During his stay at Santa Clara, Father Viader trained Indian singers and players to the point that his group became known to other missions. Father Narciso Durán, also a good musician at Mission San José de Guadalupe, wrote in 1813:

At this time some musical instruments had already come to the Mission, and I, observing that the boys of the neighboring Missions managed them easily enough, began to

te. Glorifi ca muste Gra ti as a gi mus ti bi

propter mag nam glori am tu am. Do

mine De us Rex Ce lestis De us Pa ter

Omni potens. Domine Fi li Vni gen

te Je su Chris te. Domine De us Agnus

De i fi li us Pa tris. Qui tol lis pec cata

This music sheet from the *Gloria In Excelsis Deo* shows the patches used to cover a wax stain or make a correction. The system of hollow or filled notation in either red or black to guide the Indian four-part singers is attributed to Padre Esteban Tapís of Mission San Juan Bautista and here appears in the music archives of the University of Santa Clara, Santa Clara, California.

interest myself in sending some of the boys of this Mission to Santa Clara to learn the rudiments of music.⁷

Father Viader's training was so thorough that in a short time Father Durán had his own choir and orchestra at the San José mission.

Alfred Robinson, the New England traveler, described the religious feast day of Saint Joseph held at Mission San José de Guadalupe during Father Viader's lifetime.

Mass was soon commenced, and Padre Viader at the usual period of the ceremony ascended the pulpit, and delivered an explanatory sermon relative to the celebration of the day. The music was well executed, for it had been practiced daily for more than two months under the particular supervision of Father Narciso Durán. The number of the musicians was about thirty; the instruments performed upon were violins, flutes, trumpets, and drums. . . .⁸

Whether musicians from Santa Clara de Asís went to San José to augment the musical forces there was not recorded. One could surmise that there probably were some Santa Clara musicians taking part in the service, for Robinson wrote of the same event: "Being the festival eve, many of the Indians were starting off in numbers; and ere the sun set, hundreds were upon the road for St. José."⁹

Throughout the history of Mission Santa Clara de Asís, music played a vital role in its services. Confirmations, the laying of a cornerstone for a new church—Santa Clara de Asís Mission had five—dedication of a church, and blessing of the bells, as well as appeals to God all required music and Indian participation. In Book I of *Libro de Confirmaciones de Santa Clara*, Father Tomás de la Peña wrote:

On the 11th of November of 1779 in the Church of this Mission of Our Lady Mother Santa Clara, which this same day was blessed and opened for divine worship, at the close of the high Misa Cantada . . . Fray Junípero Serra . . . confirmed the following. . . .¹⁰

Upon subsequent occasions when Father Junípero Serra returned for more confirmations, the choir sang the Mass and also sang special music for the confirmations. For the consecration of the 1784 church the Indians sang a "solemn *Te Deum*."

Elaborate ceremonies were not confined to the purely ecclesiastical but were used also for matters of material want. Since mission water systems depended upon winter rains, a drought was a severe matter. In 1823, or 1824, Father Catalá led a procession asking Heaven for relief from the long drought which had plagued the area all that winter. For this event the choir assisted by singing special hymns.¹¹

For the various religious festivities as well as the Mass itself, the Indian

musicians had a considerable amount of music to learn. The choir had to sing the plainchants, the Propers of the Mass for Sundays and principal feasts of the year, two or more plainchant Masses for other occasions, more than two homophonic Masses—either in two or four parts—numerous hymns for Benediction, and other hymns honoring the Blessed Virgin and other saints. Sometimes the choir supplied music for Vespers and Compline, special Lenten services such as the Stations of the Cross and Tenebrae. At funerals, they sang the Requiem Mass either in plainchant or in four part harmony.

During the few weeks before Christmas the musicians were not only kept busy participating in the special church services, but also in the *pastorela*, or Nativity play, held at most if not all missions at Christmas Eve. Robinson described a *pastorela* presented at Mission San Diego de Alcalá.

At an early hour, illuminations commenced, fireworks were set off and all was rejoicing. The church bells rang merrily. . . . The Mass commenced . . . and at the conclusion . . . the characters entered in procession, adorned with appropriate costume, and wearing banners. There were six females representing shepherdesses, three men and a boy. One of the men represented Lucifer, one a hermit, and the other Bartolo, a lazy vagabond, whilst the boy represented the archangel Gabriel. The story of their performance is partially drawn from the Bible, and commences with the angel's appearance to the shepherds, and his account of the birth of our Saviour. Lucifer appears among them, and endeavors to prevent the prosecution of their journey. His influence and temptations are about to succeed, when Gabriel again appears and frustrates their effect. A dialogue is then carried on at considerable length relative to the attributes of the Diety, which ends in the submission of Satan. The whole is interspersed with songs and incidents that seem better adapted to the stage than the Church.¹²

These *pastorelas* followed the ideas of St. Francis, who introduced into the Franciscan churches the custom of representing the manger at Bethlehem. At Mission Santa Clara de Asís there were two rooms which adjoined the church on the cemetery side. The first was the baptistry, while the second was known as the "Bethlehem," because each year at Christmas the crib and biblical history were represented in it. As the actors reenacted the journey to Bethlehem, they proceeded to this room and at the conclusion of the play curtains were drawn aside to show statues of the Nativity. Joined with the music of the choir and orchestra, along with the pealing of the bells, this drama stirred all the Indians concerned. The *pastorela* presented at Mission Santa Clara de Asís and some other missions was probably the one written by Father Ybañez of Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad since he was known as a dramatist, and the play was circulated to many missions.¹³

Holy Week offered several types of services—all reflecting upon the death of Christ. On Good Friday, three men performed the ceremony of *Via Crucis*. While the choir sang appropriate music, three men dressed in white linen carried a heavy cross from one station to another.¹⁴

While the ceremony of Tenebrae was much more solemn than the *pas-*

torela and offered no chance for rejoicing or gaiety, it was similar to the *pastorela* in that *Tenebrae* illustrated a segment from the life of Christ and all the Indians took part in it. The ceremony occurred on Good Friday after the choir had sung the Lamentations. Fifteen candles on the *Tenebrae* candleholder were extinguished one by one until only one remained burning. During the singing of the Benedictus, shutters and curtains were closed over all the windows. The one remaining lighted candle was removed and placed behind the altar—this one candle signifying the light of Christ. After the recitation of the psalm, "Miserere," the entire congregation clapped hands, struck wooden clappers, shook rattles, and beat on drums—all symbolizing the confusion of nature at the time of Christ's death.¹⁵

During Holy Week, the padres and musicians sang a musical setting of the Passion Gospel during the Mass in a sort of liturgical-dramatic fashion. Three priests—if three were available—or the regular two padres and a Mexican or Indian vocalist sang the parts of the narrators while the bass voice sang the part of Jesus. The chorus represented the "Turba" or crowd by singing the "Crucifige eum."¹⁶

As mentioned, musical instruments were used in the mission services. Father Durán wrote in his *Prologo*:

As basic principle I ordained that there should never be a distinction between musician and singers, but that both hands and mouth should perform their respective functions; that is to say the same men both sing and play.¹⁷

In the *Prologo*, which was the first theoretical writing in California concerning mission music, Father Durán frequently mentioned the use of instruments in connection with their doubling of vocal parts.

I always deemed it advisable that instruments should always accompany the singing, even having the Requiem accompanied by two violins.¹⁸

Of Mission Santa Clara de Asís, Pinedo wrote:

Rev. Father José Viader taught the Indians to perform on musical instruments and to sing. The younger ones sang and the older ones played in the band which consisted of a clarinet, flute, cello, bass, and small drums, cymbals, and triangle.¹⁹

Quite a number of missions possessed instruments. *Memorias* and account books record the purchase of violins, flutes, drums, trumpets, oboes, *mandolas*, and strings as well as parts for various instruments. Some instruments, especially the stringed instruments, were constructed at the missions but were usually of inferior quality to the ones brought from Spain and Mexico. (There is even record of a flute made from a gun barrel.) In 1827, Duhault-Cilly substantiated the fact that homemade instruments used for a Mass at Mission San Luis Rey were out of tune and of an inferior quality.²⁰

After secularization in the 1830's, Mission Santa Clara de Asís suffered the fate of most of the missions; Mexican soldiers plundered and stole many articles. In 1851, the Jesuit fathers, into whose hands the missions had been placed by the authorities, made a complete inventory of what was left and discovered several musical instruments. The original inventory was made by the last Franciscan padre, Father José Maria del Real, and the first Jesuit priest, Father John Nobili, S. J. The inventory is not entirely clear and several interpretations can be made of this list which is located in the archives of Santa Barbara Mission (a photograph of the MS. is in the Santa Clara archives). The most logical conclusion is that when both priests made the inventory, they worked from a previous account, perhaps from the W. E. P. Hartnell inventory of 1839 or one of the annual *memorias* which listed more than those instruments found in 1851. The left hand numbers indicated the actual number of instruments which should have been on hand while the "no" after items five through eight indicates that these instruments had disappeared since the last accounting.

TABLE I
INVENTORY OF 1851

- One Room $5\frac{1}{2}$ V. long and 4 wide, brick floor, wooden ceiling and a door.
- One Large bass in good condition with box painted with oil.
- 3 Medium bass in good condition.
- 13 Violins ditto in good and bad condition.
- 0 Ditto medium in good condition. no.
- Ditto large a little deteriorated. no.
- Flutes. no.
- 1 Bass drum. no.
- 1 Parchment choral book lined in leather.
- Hinges and brass plates.
- Two Triangles and various sheets of music.
- One Bench $\frac{3}{4}$ v. long with wooden back.
- Two Brass cymbals.

Throughout the history of Mission Santa Clara de Asís, music played an important role in its life. Instrumental and vocal music abounded under the able direction of Father Viader who taught it to many Indians and even some Mexicans who lived nearby in the pueblo. The type of music used was peculiar to the missions; neither complex nor unduly simple, it reflected the needs of the padres and the Indians.

NOTES

1. Guadalupe Vallejo, "Ranch and Mission Days in Alta California," *The Century Magazine*, December, 1890, cited by Rev. Owen daSilva, *Mission Music of California* (Los Angeles, 1941), 7. (Hereinafter cited as daSilva, *Mission Music*.)

2. Hildegard Hawthorne, *California's Missions* (New York, 1942), 109. (Hereinafter cited as Hawthorne, *California's Missions*.)
3. Charles Francis Saunders and J. Smeaton Chase, *The California Padres and Their Missions* (Boston, 1915), 343.
4. The term "whaler" is most likely inaccurate as very few whalers came near the missions. Duflot DeMofras, *Travels on the Pacific Coast*, I, 221, cited by Edith Buckland Webb, *Indian Life at the Old Missions* (Los Angeles, 1952), 251. (Hereinafter cited as DeMofras, *Travels*, cited by Webb, *Indian Life*.)
5. Hawthorne, *California's Missions*, 111-112.
6. DeMofras, *Travels*, cited by Webb, *Indian Life*, 251.
7. Father Narciso Durán, *Prologo*, 1813, cited by daSilva, *Mission Music*, 30.
8. Alfred Robinson, *Life in California* (Oakland, California, 1947), 72. (Hereinafter cited as Robinson, *Life*.)
9. *Ibid.*, 70.
10. Father Arthur Dunning Spearman, S. J., *The Five Franciscan Churches of Mission Santa Clara* (Palo Alto, California, ca. 1963), 25.
11. Rev. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., *The Holy Man of Santa Clara*, 147-148, cited by Webb, *Indian Life*, 275.
12. Robinson, *Life*, 66-67.
13. Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, 429, cited by daSilva, *Mission Music*, 22.
14. Encarnación Pinedo, "Early Days at Santa Clara," *The Owl*, April, 1934, cited by Webb, *Indian Life*, 270.
15. Webb, *Indian Life*, 270.
16. Statement by Father Spearman, personal interview.
17. Durán, *Prologo*, cited by daSilva, *Mission Music*, 31.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Pinedo, "Early Days," cited by Webb, *Indian Life*, 252.
20. Engelhardt, *Mission San Luis Rey*, 59, cited by daSilva, *Mission Music*, 10.



...it is a dangerous-looking place

SAILING DAYS ON THE REDWOOD COAST

By Karl Kortum and Roger Olmsted

North of the Russian River, a sail of a day or two from San Francisco, a forest such as will never be seen again came down to a coast that no sailor would ever have sought as refuge—no matter what the extremity or storm or the distress of his vessel.

Yet in the decades immediately following the Gold Rush, the state of several arts implied that it was cheaper to ship redwood over the rocks of the Sonoma and Mendocino shores than it was to bring lumber out of the forests of the Sierra.

What might seem to us extraordinary was economic; what we would now think ordinary was impractical. If the history of politics tells us that we learn nothing from history, the history of economics and technology tells us that when we guess about conditions of which we have no sure knowledge, we will probably guess wrong. The schooner *Carolita* drifts across the top of this page. The year is 1868.

The *Carolita* is making port at Timber Cove, where she will load “under the chute”—one of the first chutes on the coast (1854) and probably the last (1920).



The chute was the solution to the problem of shipping lumber from the rockbound North Coast. By the 1880's the coast might be loosely described as having a mill in every gulch and a chute or two at every nearby indentation that offered slight protection from the prevailing sea and deep water close inshore. Seventy-six landings have been identified on the coast between Bodega Head and Humboldt Bay—most of them in use during the 1880's, when the one-topmast schooners still handled most of the export.

The definitive form of that spectacular contraption known as the chute was captured (above) by one of the members of an amateur photographic party that trekked up the coast in August of 1886. The "1884" inscribed on the suspension frame and the clear outline of Havens Neck in the background identifies it as the third of the chutes

at Signal Port or Steens Landing (previously known as "Hardscratch"). George Davidson's monumental 1889 *Coast Pilot* informs us that in the mid-'80's the nearby mill cut 25,000 board feet a day and that about eight schooners loaded here each month.

Some of the early shipping points on the Redwood Coast were at such likely spots as Noyo, Albion, and Gualala, where good sized streams gave entrance to small vessels during part of the year, and where it was in any event practical to send lighters out to the anchorage. But the nature of the coast and the need to load cheaply and fast almost immediately suggested the scheme of mooring schooners alongside convenient bluffs and sending lumber down a trough positioned right over the deck.

The two-masted schooners that loaded lumber, railway ties, firewood, and tanbark on the Mendocino Coast paid well and fed well from the seaman's point of view, but they did not nurture stray literary talents and we have no good account of the details of working these vessels. Captain Carl Rydell put in three months in the later-day steam schooner *Navarro* when the old style chute was still operating at the Navarro River, and his brief comments sketch the general method:

"The lumber is sent down the chute, near the end of which a man operates a brake to check the force with which the lumber descends. The seamen stand ready to catch the lumber as it leaves the chute. As each man gets a piece of timber he runs with it, lays it down exactly where it belongs, and returns to the chute. . . . When the hold is full, the deck is loaded, the larger part of the cargo of a lumber schooner going on deck. The work goes well enough when the water is comparatively smooth; but when the vessel rolls, the chute during some moments is high above the deck. This makes it difficult for a man below to catch a timber at the right instant and to get the right hold. If he makes a single slip, or if the man at the brake does not apply it in time, he may be injured or killed.

"On my first day at Navarro we took on railway ties. Loading ties, which we called 'sinkers,' is particularly hard and dangerous work. If water-soaked, as they usually are, one of them is as much as a strong man can carry." Rydell missed a "sinker" on a rough day in December under the chute at Navarro and left the Redwood Coast with a big toe in bad shape.





"Honest Harry" Meiggs, one of Gold Rush San Francisco's most highly regarded swindlers, founded the North Coast lumber industry in 1852, when in partnership with J. B. Ford and others he sent a sawmill up to Big River. The wharf that Meiggs projected at North Beach is seen in the view from Telegraph Hill in about 1867 (left); a tiny portion of the coastal schooner fleet lies at anchor, awaiting a favorable wind or tide.

On the bluff overlooking the cove at Big River, the town of Mendocino City fulfilled Meiggs' early confidence. By the mid-1860's, when the view below was made, the former "Meigsville" was still the most important shipping point on the coast and had assumed the appearance it carries down to this day. At the right is the main street in 1875 and the Masonic Hall, with its justly celebrated crowning statuary.





The definitive view of an "outside porter":
the schooner *Big River* approaches the San Francisco waterfront.



Even the relatively capacious cove at Mendocino City was no port in a storm.

In 1867 a photographer who should have been inside caught these two schooners that should have been outside. We think they survived, but on the night of November 10, 1865, ten such schooners were lost on the coast.

The exposed landings of the North Coast were “outside ports”—at worst, “dog holes.” The handy schooners of the coast, with no fore-topmast, were said to have “a mast-and-a-half.”



The three-masted schooner *Norma* ashore at Fort Bragg.

The gulch, the mill, the tramway to the landing, the chute, and the schooner loading all appear in this split panoramic view of Caspar made by C. E. Watkins in the 1860's. The anchorage at Caspar was "reckoned a good one by the coasters" in the words of George Davidson.

Seasonal floods carried sawlogs down the gulches to the mill at tidewater. A tramway then carried the milled stuff out to the loading point. Cutting, milling, and loading went on almost year 'round at good locations—but logs came to the mills from season to season, and shipping was of course much less brisk in winter than during summer, when the sea is never worse than dangerous.

In the heyday of the two-masted schooners (from the '50's through the '80's) there was never so much timber cut and shipped as in some later years, yet echoes from the earlier times are a bit more stirring than the statistics of the internal combustion era. "Flatfoot" Hansen told Bill Olesen (who told us) that one day in the '80's he counted over fifty outbound schooners becalmed in the lee of Point Reyes. The *Mendocino Beacon* of October 30, 1880, crowed that over 300,000 railroad ties were waiting on the landings at Westport, Noyo, Caspar, Little River, Albion, Salmon Creek, Newport, Cuffey's Cove, and Point Arena.

Analysis of available records suggests that over three hundred schooners of the type that worked the redwood Coast came out of Pacific yards between 1860 and 1884; within a generation they were a memory.



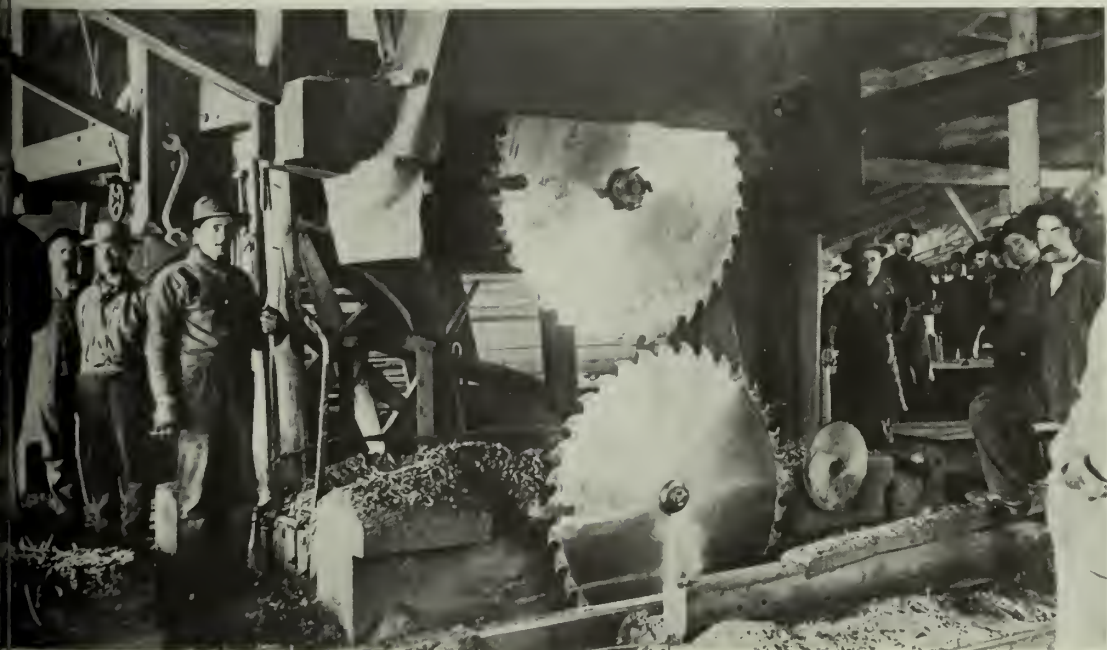


About thirty schooners were built right under the Mendocino bluffs. Here is the launch of the *Electra*, built by Thomas Petersen at Little River.





g out a redwood tree was still an effort when the only big machine used was the saw in the mill. Muscular ingenuity got a sawlog out and to the creek. Later the dinky log-railroad extended the reach of local assembly points for logs. But it was the stationary engine, with its spool of rope, that became the authentic Ox of Paul Bunyan. It took only a few days to cut a forest: this machine dragged the forest out in pieces. The logs of the redwood country suggest the "logging machine" and such new gadgets as this big double circular saw at the second mill at Little



Every dog hole was peculiar to itself, which is why many schooner captains ran back and forth between San Francisco and a particular port where they literally knew every sunken rock in the dark. At Bourns Landing (below) a tram and wharf came out over a detached rock, where two chutes reached out from a platform. In the mid-'80's about 140 schooners loaded here each year. At Westport, wharves ran over the rocks to two chutes: seven schooners are loading or waiting in this view. At Point Arena there was a regular pier where the coastal steamer landed passengers and high tariff freight every Wednesday (weather permitting); but as can be seen from the view showing the peculiar "table wharf" that lasted out a couple of years in the early '80's, the lumber schooners stood off the end of a huge chute or moored off the end of the table wharf, with its "wire chute."

The idea of the wire (stemming from Andrew S. Hallidie's success with endless travelers in the Sierra mines and with the cable car) turned into the remarkable loading method that distinguished the Mendocino Coast operations in the steam schooner days that stretched well into this century. Whether down the chute or "under the wire," the way they got the timber loaded on the North Coast was something new to seamen.







Though sending timber, bark, or firewood down a traveler running over a heavy wire rope was tried out in the late '70's, it was more than a decade before "wire chutes" became common. Here is the new chute at Iversons Landing (also called Rough and Ready) in 1886. The "bull wheel" was used to tighten up the wire after the offshore end and the main wire had been shackled together over the deck of the schooner.



Why the wire was first called a "trapeze chute" is obvious from this family scene aboard the trapeze at Noyo in 1916. Captain Schuyler Colfax Mitchell, his wife, two daughters, and the children's nurse, take the safe and easy ride up from the deck of the big offshore schooner *Irene*.



Cuffeys Cove, once one of the most active shipping points of the Mendocino Coast, shows traces of its days as a dog hole port before the neutral eye of the camera. Of the nearby landing at Havens Neck, George Davison wrote, "It is a dangerous-looking place." So it was, but for a little time it and the rest of this dangerous coast was a place where seamen routinely did what was most unlikely.

PHOTOGRAPH SOURCES: Unless otherwise specified below, the photographs come from the large collection of North Coast views available at the San Francisco Maritime Museum. Three particularly fine groups of pictures owned by the Bancroft Library are represented here: 1) from the William Letts Olver Collection, which includes superb glass negatives made during a trip to Mendocino in 1886, are the scenes on p. 2, p. 6, and p. 10 (the view on p. 14, owned by the Maritime Museum, was made by another member of this expedition); 2) An interesting series made by M. M. Hazeltine in the spring of 1867 is represented by views on p. 5 (center) and p. 7 (upper); from the portfolio of oversize prints made by C. E. Watkins in the 1860's are the panoramic views of Mendocino City (pp. 4-5) and the mill at Caspar (pp. 8-9). Original negatives by A. O. Carpenter, salvaged by Robert Lee of Ukiah, produced the prints on p. 11 (upper) and p. 12.

Standard Oil and the Financing of the Mexican Revolution

By KENNETH J. GRIEB

THE ALLEGED INVOLVEMENT of the Standard Oil Company in the Mexican Revolution has long been fiercely debated by historians. Contemporary accusations of financial aid to the Revolutionaries during the early phases of the civil war that engulfed Mexico sparked the controversy. While charges and countercharges of every nature were commonplace during the propaganda duel that paralleled the military confrontation, the allegations against the company were too numerous and diverse to be dismissed lightly.¹ Although viewing accusations uttered in the heat of combat with caution, historians have continued to investigate. If the evidence available has appeared inconclusive, it has been apparent that the company had a substantial investment in Mexican oil production, and constituted a logical source of financial support for the rebels. That the Revolutionaries obviously had ample pecuniary resources at their disposal has increased the suspicion of scholars, since the availability of such large amounts of capital seemed difficult to explain.

Probing the economy of a revolution is necessarily a formidable task, as roving rebel bands seldom maintain careful ledgers, and frequently fail to make the most effective use of available resources. Examining the finances of a rebellion involves such complex matters as estimating the potential return from the sale of "expropriated" real property, livestock, and household goods, and the amount of liquid capital available for "confiscation" in insurgent controlled sectors. Even a meticulous computation of available assets could prove misleading since the seizure and disposition of goods in the combat zone are frequently determined by personal caprice rather than monetary considerations. After its initial stages, however, the Mexican Revolution became a well organized movement in the northern region of the country, and could efficiently utilize the resources at its disposal. Yet even in this circumstance, it seems unlikely that its leaders could possibly have secured sufficient capital exclusively by internal expropriation, in view of the limited liquid wealth available in this area. It is this factor that has caused historians to continue investigations of the possibility of external financing. Despite Revolutionary contentions that the cost of the rebellion was modest,

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the substantial quantities of arms and ammunition purchased in the United States and paid for promptly seems to belie this contention.²

If investigating the finances of a revolution poses formidable difficulties, tracing the involvement of a single company is even more problematical. Just as the Mexican Revolutionaries did not maintain detailed records of such matters, one can hardly expect the Standard Oil Company to have preserved any embarrassing ledgers.³ Indeed, the company has been quite sensitive to such charges. In the face of such difficulties, complete documentation will never exist—but there is sufficient evidence to indicate some level of involvement.

The development of the Mexican oil industry was characterized by spectacular growth and a furious battle for dominance. Standard Oil initially entered Mexico during the 1880's to market petroleum from the United States. At the time there was no domestic production in Mexico. Standard's operations south of the Rio Grande were placed in charge of a marketing subsidiary, the Waters-Pierce Oil Company directed by Henry Clay Pierce. Through its affiliate, Standard Oil enjoyed a monopoly on sales in Mexico. This proved extremely lucrative, and during the 1890's Waters-Pierce realized a profit of 7.7 cents a gallon on its Mexican sales of illuminating oil—three times the average return in domestic markets.⁴ At the turn of the century, the discovery of oil in Mexico terminated this monopoly. A frantic scramble for concessions ensued as production surged from 502,000 barrels in 1906 to 3,634,000 barrels in 1910. Huge strikes during December, 1910, yielded the world's three largest known gushers, and the following year witnessed an even more spectacular spout. In 1911 Mexico became an oil exporter, with a production of 12,713,000 barrels—nearly four times its 1910 yield. Production continued to skyrocket, and by 1913, when it reached 25,696,000 barrels, Mexico supplied nearly 7% of the world's petroleum.⁵ Mexico was therefore the fastest growing oil producing area in the world, and the dramatic increase and spectacular strikes seemed to indicate unlimited potential. Thus the battle for concessions was fiercely contested.

The initial discoveries occurred during the presidency of Porfirio Díaz, who judiciously apportioned the concessions to prevent a monopoly. The Mexican president awarded the inaugural grants to Edward L. Doheney and Sir Weetman Pearson, subsequently Lord Cowdray.⁶ After effectively terminating the Standard monopoly in this manner, Díaz shrewdly maneuvered between the companies. Doheney and Pierce did cooperate occasionally, with the former supplying crude oil to a refinery Pierce constructed at Tampico.⁷ Cowdray's entry complicated the corporate struggle for market control and concessions. Because of his previous engineering and construction projects in Mexico, Cowdray was a favorite of Díaz, who consequently rewarded him with a concession which enabled the British tycoon to launch

his initial foray into the petroleum industry. The Mexican president also perceived that the presence of the British firm would preclude Yankee control of Mexico's oil resources.⁸ After failing to reach a direct agreement apportioning the market between them, Pierce and Cowdray engaged in a protracted price war during 1909 and 1910, forcing the Mexican divisions of both firms to operate at a loss.⁹ The principal contest for concessions, therefore, involved Cowdray's Aguila (Mexican Eagle) company and Waters-Pierce. In view of the substantial investments, the high stakes involved, and the ferocity of the competition, a willingness to resort to desperate measures is understandable.

Many observers have suggested that the companies were quite capable of supporting revolutions to secure advantages, and the Díaz policy certainly frustrated efforts to control Mexican production, engendering resentment. Conversely, potential rebels undoubtedly were not above pledging, or at least hinting at, preferential concessions and beneficent legislation to secure financial aid.¹⁰ In this situation, it would have been surprising if Standard Oil had not been suspected of underwriting the Revolution. Similarly, if the charges were accurate, the company could have been expected to support its benefactors for an extended period, even to the extent of financing several rebellions, if necessary, until the party associated with it secured complete control of the nation. Thus Standard Oil was charged with augmenting the pecuniary resources of the revolt of Francisco I. Madero, in response to the alleged favoritism of Cowdray by Díaz. Naturally Cowdray was then accused of supporting the government of General Victoriano Huerta, which overthrew Madero, and Standard was in turn charged with financing the revolution which Venustiano Carranza launched in opposition to Huerta.¹¹ Although the post-Díaz regimes awarded few concessions, their taxation policies varied considerably, causing speculation about the effect of these levies on the oil companies.¹²

During the uprising against Díaz, the United States Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation secured evidence of financial negotiations between Standard Oil and the Maderistas. The initial contacts occurred during April, 1911. Department agents, who maintained a careful surveillance, reported that a C. R. Troxel appeared in El Paso, allegedly bearing credentials from John D. Archbold, Standard Oil's vice president in charge of operations. Troxel promptly approached representatives of the Revolutionary party. United States Attorney General George W. Wickersham advised Secretary of State Philander Knox of the incident. The agents' reports indicated that Troxel, on behalf of Standard Oil, offered the rebels a "loan" of one half to one million dollars, in return for 6% gold bonds and pledges of expanded oil concessions. As the talks progressed, agents kept the Justice Department fully informed, and Wickersham relayed details of the "negotiations between representatives of the Standard Oil Company and leaders of the insurrec-

tionary party in Mexico" to Knox.¹³ Alfonso Madero reportedly conferred with the rebel agents who had met Troxel and approved the stipulations. Troxel and Gustavo Madero allegedly met personally on May 2 at El Paso to confirm the terms.¹⁴ After reaching agreement, both returned to their superiors to arrange for the transfer of the funds and bonds.

These reports were sufficient to alarm United States government officials, who acted swiftly to frustrate the arrangements between the company and the rebels. Because of the number of ex-corporation officials in the Taft administration, it was possible to work through private rather than legal channels. The Secretary of State wrote directly to Archbold on May 10, 1911:

... the Department has received information of a most serious character charging the Standard Oil Company with an attempt to make a loan to the insurrecto leaders. . . . Knowing that conditions in Mexico breed all sorts of tales, the Department would be disposed to consider the matter as mere rumor which it would not be necessary to call to the attention of the Company, were it not for the fact that the information comes with such a wealth of details, including names of negotiators, the amounts involved, and the proposed terms. . . .

Adding that such an "improper transaction" would be "contrary to the true spirit which should guide and control loyal and patriotic American citizens under existing circumstances," the secretary quoted at length from a Supreme Court verdict holding that loans made to revolutionists constituted a violation of the neutrality laws of the United States and hence were not enforceable in court. Knox concluded:

It is doubtless unnecessary to point out to you that undertakings of this kind on the part of your company or any other American citizen may not only be classed as a breach of the good faith which our citizens owe to governments with which we are at peace, but that they could not fail to react injuriously upon American citizens and their commercial undertakings in all countries; and that such acts, tending as they do to compromise in the popular mind the impartiality of this Government, would so prejudice the public mind as to render impossible, or if possible then ineffective, representations generally to foreign governments on behalf of such citizens, and particularly to the government against which the citizens had thus illegally and unlawfully conspired.¹⁵

Knox apparently calculated that a direct warning indicating government awareness of alleged contacts would compel the company to terminate any negotiations more effectively than criminal prosecution, particularly when coupled with a threat of government disavowal of any resulting concessions. In the meantime, he directed the attorney general to launch "a rigorous investigation."¹⁶

Standard Oil promptly issued a vehement denial. Archbold replied categorically: "All statements of this character emanating from whatever source

are absolutely without foundation," and dispatched William H. Libby, director of Standard's foreign division, to Washington posthaste.¹⁷ Libby arrived in the capital as rapidly as Archbold's missive, and conferred with the attorney general in pursuance of Archbold's directive that he ascertain "the source of these libels and misstatements." Wickersham provided Libby with the particulars of the agents' reports. After returning to New York, Libby sent the attorney general a single exchange of letters between Archbold and Troxel, dated January 13, 1910, which he characterized as "the only relationship (epistolary, personal, or official) Mr. Archbold, or any of the Standard Oil Company Directors, has ever had with Mr. Troxel." Libby assured Wickersham that he had carefully searched the company's archives to verify this, and added that none of the others involved in the negotiations had ever had any contact with Standard Oil. He also noted that the exchange with Troxel was merely a response to an unsolicited letter.¹⁸

This incident provides some solid, though inconclusive, evidence of possible Standard Oil involvement. Throughout the reports, it is clear that the Justice Department's agents relied entirely upon information supplied by informants. This is hardly surprising, since one would scarcely expect the agents to be able to participate in negotiations. Presumably, the investigators received these reports from sources that had previously proven reliable, and carefully verified the details in accordance with standard bureau procedures. Yet the information was second hand, and this is particularly important in the case of the credentials Troxel allegedly displayed. The company's denial was also to be expected, and its willingness to admit even a single contact with Troxel, however innocuous, is intriguing. Of particular interest is the fact that the copy of Archbold's reply to Troxel furnished to the Department of Justice by Libby, is an original ribbon copy rather than a carbon, since one would expect company files to contain only carbons of outgoing correspondence. It was scarcely surprising that the Company denied contact with the other alleged participants, since Troxel was supposedly the only representative of Standard involved, the others all being associated with the Mexican rebel party. The speed with which Archbold and Libby reacted, and the categorical nature of their denials, suggest at least a hypersensitivity to such charges. The government, of course, accepted the company's assurances, since the Bureau of Investigation was unable to secure further evidence.¹⁹ This is also intriguing, since it indicates an apparent termination of the talks which coincided with the Knox-Archbold exchange. Consequently, it appears possible that Knox succeeded in his ploy and, by apprising Archbold of government knowledge, compelled the company to end any negotiations with the rebels. Another possible explanation is that the fall of Juárez occurred at the same moment, and may have reduced the rebel need for capital by assuring their triumph. According to the accounts, Gustavo Madero had stipulated that the insurrectos would terminate the negotiations if they

secured control of the country prior to the completion of the loan arrangements. The fall of Juárez, however, scarcely constituted a guarantee of the success of the revolt, for the prompt collapse of the Díaz regime came as a surprise to all parties.²⁰

The difficulty of unraveling Standard Oil activities in Mexico during this period is compounded by the fact that the autonomous marketing subsidiary which conducted its operations in that country, the Waters-Pierce Company, was managed by one of the most controversial figures of an oft-criticized industry. Henry Clay Pierce personified the oil tycoon so roundly condemned by the muck-rakers. He had entered the oil business in Texas, but during the 1870's he transferred his headquarters to St. Louis, after a Texas state court ordered the dissolution of his marketing organization for business practices which violated state statutes.²¹ Pierce agreed to merge his company into the Standard Oil system in 1878. Although Standard owned a substantial portion of the stock, and Pierce himself retained only a 40% interest, the agreement stipulated that he was to "control and direct" the firm's policies.²² His headstrong methods and unpredictable actions subsequently exasperated Standard Oil headquarters. Aggressive tactics eliminated competitors ruthlessly, and enabled him to secure more than 90% of the petroleum sales in his territory, which encompassed much of the Southwest.²³ This yielded astronomical profits, among the highest in the Standard Oil system. Indeed, the returns were so extraordinary that they alarmed the trust's directors in the New York headquarters, who foresaw that they would stimulate legal investigation and encourage competition in the Waters-Pierce area.²⁴ But Pierce tenaciously clung to his own methods and contemptuously ignored the admonitions of the central office. One Standard executive characterized Pierce as "a brilliant man," with "no equal," but added: "He wouldn't play ball with the crowd, and he liked to pull fast ones. He wouldn't do a thing straight if it could be done crooked. He was cordial and polite enough but when he got into a jam with people . . . they knew they were fighting a Tartar. He was the nastiest fighter you ever saw."²⁵ The New York office found it impossible to control his actions, and Pierce remained a maverick within company circles. The supervisor of his sector informed John D. Rockefeller: "I believe Pierce is one of the most unsafe men we have connected with us today."²⁶

Since Mexico lay within the Waters-Pierce territory, Standard operations in that country were under Pierce's direction. The discovery of oil in Mexico terminated Pierce's lucrative monopoly, and he plunged fiercely into the struggle for concessions in an effort to retain control of the Mexican market. Pierce did attempt to secure diplomatic support against his British rival during the Huerta-Carranza conflict, but his efforts proved futile because of the dedication of the Woodrow Wilson administration to the regulation of big business. Senator William J. Stone of Missouri conferred with presi-

dential adviser Colonel Edward M. House in October, 1913, in behalf of Pierce, urging that the president receive Pierce to discuss the oil situation in Mexico. House declined to arrange a meeting, and "explained how impossible it would be for the President to cooperate with a financial magnate who was interested in Mexican oil and railroads, and take sides with him."²⁷ Pierce received a similar rebuff when he personally spoke to Boaz W. Long, Chief of the State Department's Latin American Division.²⁸ The rejection of his request for diplomatic support left the oil tycoon to his own devices in the bitter competition south of the Rio Grande. In view of his record in battling domestic competitors, and his reputation within the trust, it appears unlikely that Pierce would have overlooked any method of eliminating his opposition in Mexico. He was scarcely the type of individual who would have stopped short of aiding revolutionaries when such an action offered a prospect of strengthening his position vis-à-vis his corporate rivals.

Consequently, it appears that the charges of Standard Oil's meddling in Mexico should, in fact, have been aimed at St. Louis rather than New York. This would explain the discrepancies between the company's denials and the evidence suggesting contacts. It is striking that the trust officers in New York attempted to act independently in Mexico on several occasions, indicating that the central office was dissatisfied with the Pierce operation in that country. The New York office dispatched an emissary to Mexico shortly after Madero's triumph, and the timing of this move may be significant.²⁹ Commentators have suggested that the attempt to expand Standard holdings at this time was indicative of association with the Revolutionaries. This is entirely conceivable, but it overlooks the patterns of management within the corporation. The significant fact is that the emissary came directly from New York, and had no contact with Pierce. It is, therefore, plausible that the decision to consider moving into Mexico was a consequence of the Knox letter, which may have convinced the directors that it would be unwise to allow Pierce to retain jurisdiction over that territory.³⁰ The Company's denials of any connection with the Revolutionaries did not preclude the possibility that Pierce, acting independently, could have made such approaches without informing the New York office. As the directors were well aware, Pierce was notorious for his reluctance to transmit records of his firm's transactions to the trust headquarters.³¹ The initial emissary from New York reconnoitered the field during the latter portion of 1911, and the following spring Standard officials dined with British oil magnate Lord Cowdray in New York to discuss the purchase of his interests in Mexico.³² This approach scarcely comported with Pierce's methods, and there is no indication that he was ever informed of the conference. The willingness to consider purchasing the holdings of a leading competitor is certainly not indicative of close company ties with the Madero regime, for there was no effort to secure concessions directly from the Mexican government, although

its consent would be essential to the acquisition of Cowdray's rights. Exploratory negotiations were also conducted with another firm operating in Mexico, with an eye to securing its concessions, but the trust's management abandoned this plan because of fear of adverse reaction by authorities in the state of New Jersey under a newly enacted statute. The directors even briefly considered authorizing another subsidiary to extend its operations into Mexico.³³ That such activities were conducted independently of Pierce, and at a time when Standard already had a substantial stake in Mexico through its Waters-Pierce subsidiary, may be a significant indication of the company's relationship with and view of Pierce's Mexican activities.

The pivotal figure in the alleged contacts between Standard Oil and the Mexican Revolutionaries was Sherbourne G. Hopkins, a Washington attorney. Hopkins characterized himself as legal counsel to the Revolutionists and director of their secret service in the United States.³⁴ He was a confidant of the Maderos, and subsequently was associated with the so-called Constitutionalist movement headed by Venustiano Carranza, working closely with the Constitutionalist confidential agency in Washington. In this capacity, he frequently conducted negotiations with United States government officials on behalf of the Revolutionaries, at one point even attempting to purchase arms from the War Department for the Carrancista forces. Hopkins frequently exchanged communications with numerous insurgent officials, including Carranza, at times employing the code name S. Gil Herrera in his telegraph messages. Documents in Mexican government archives indicate Hopkins' close association with the Revolutionary leaders, and portions of his correspondence with Constitutionalist officials appear in the published collection of documents from the private papers of the Carrancista foreign minister.³⁵ A memo in the United States State Department files commented:

There seems to be no doubt that Hopkins has been the adviser and confidential agent of practically any Mexican or Central American revolutionist or plotter who had sufficient money to pay for his services . . . it apparently makes no difference to him for which side he is working, and he is believed to be not above selling the secrets of one party to another.³⁶

Pierce had previously retained Hopkins as legal counsel. Hopkins claimed to have severed his connection with the oil magnate, but contemporaries expressed some doubt.³⁷ A substantial portion of the charges concerning Standard Oil aid to the Constitutionlists revolve around Hopkins. His association with Pierce, and the fact that he apparently had no direct business with the trust itself, suggest that whatever contacts he had with the Revolutionaries regarding financial aid were made on behalf of Pierce. As an associate of both the Mexican Revolutionaries and Pierce, Hopkins constituted the ideal intermediary. His daily conferences with the Revolutionists would have rendered him a convenient channel for financial aid and negotiations.

Hopkins' close association with both parties, and the inevitable care of all participants to avoid leaving any evidence, render assessment of his role difficult. While his contacts with both participants in the alleged transactions are well established, evidence regarding financial aid is sparse. During June, 1914, the New York *Herald* printed several letters reportedly stolen from Hopkins' office, which identified Hopkins as the intermediary. The correspondence indicated that Pierce, rather than the Carrancistas, paid Hopkins' salary and expenses, despite the fact that he was devoting his energies exclusively to aiding the Carrancistas. The newspaper contended that this constituted financial aid by the oil company to the Revolutionaries, and suspected that it indicated larger scale assistance.³⁸ Portions of the alleged correspondence do appear to comport with Hopkins' exchanges with Revolutionary leaders. The difficulty of evaluating evidence of this nature has complicated attempts to determine Hopkins' precise role.

A significant portion of the missing link lies in the Mexican archives. During April, 1914, a Mexican government agent received a copy of a telegram transmitted from Washington to San Antonio. It was addressed to Jose Vasconcelos, one of Carranza's confidential agents in the United States, who had traveled from his post in New York to San Antonio to confer with Carranza and other Constitutionalist leaders. The telegram, signed "Hopkins," reads: "You are authorized draw and cash sight draft two hundred against C. A. Pierce care Pierce Oil Corp. St. Louis to cover expenses trip New York. Come immediately via Washington."³⁹ The incorrect initials used for Pierce may have been employed as a disguise. Save for the letters reproduced in the New York *Herald*, this is the only direct evidence of financial aid. Yet one would not expect more than fragmentary documentation to have survived.

The relationship of Standard Oil to the Mexican Revolutionaries thus remains murky, but a clearer picture is emerging. New evidence, contained in Department of Justice files and the Mexican archives, indicates that there were indeed some contacts, though the fragmentary nature of the surviving records precludes a precise determination of the details. Despite subsequent arguments that the Revolution did not require external financing, Mexican records do indicate efforts by the Carrancistas to secure foreign loans through the sale of bonds. The position of Pierce within the trust explains the failure of efforts to document contacts between the directors in New York and the Revolutionaries. Pierce and Hopkins constitute the keys, and given their association it appears probable that whatever transpired occurred without the knowledge of the main office. The available evidence is sufficient to indicate at least limited exchanges regarding financial aid and to establish the channel through which such assistance would have flowed. It also reveals the reason for the conflicting charges of the past, since it establishes that these accusations were directed at the wrong target. The previous activities of

Pierce suggest that he was unlikely to have overlooked any means to protect his investment, and the extensive purchases of arms imply that the rebels needed financial assistance. In these circumstances it would be surprising if some arrangement had not been reached. The necessity was apparent and the means were at hand. The existing evidence, though fragmentary, supports such a conclusion.

It should be noted that this conclusion does not reflect unfavorably upon the Mexican Revolutionists. Mexicans have been extremely sensitive to such charges, contending that they impugn the integrity of the Revolutionary leaders. Yet one cannot expect men enveloped in the desperate combat of a protracted civil war to overlook their urgent needs for the sake of future reputation. Funds were needed, and since it proved impossible to secure loans from other quarters, the Revolutionaries may have been compelled to accept them from whatever source available. Subsequent reforms would not have been possible had the Revolution failed at this point, even if it did so in preserving principle. To the credit of the Revolutionaries the only records indicating the tenure of the negotiations, the Justice Department's reports of the 1911 episode, indicate that the Revolutionary leaders insisted on the right to cancel concessions granted after a period of years, thus effectively proffering only short term advantages in return for short term loans. Such an arrangement would not have precluded subsequent reforms, and may have constituted a necessary compromise between expediency and ideals.

NOTES

1. For examples of the contemporary charges, see *El País* (Mexico City), January 4, 1913; Juan Pedro Didapp, *Los Estados Unidos y nuestros conflictos internos* (Mexico, 1913), 12; Edward I. Bell, *The Political Shame of Mexico* (New York, 1914), 126-127; Pierre L'Espagnol de la Tramerage, *The World Struggle for Oil* (New York, 1924), 89; Henry Lane Wilson, *Diplomatic Episodes in Mexico, Belgium, and Chile* (Garden City, N.Y.), 206; and Henry Lane Wilson to President William Howard Taft, July 17, 1911, Papers of William Howard Taft, Library of Congress. The general currency of the allegations is evident from the casual way they were discussed at a cabinet meeting: see "Diary of Josephus Daniels" (Secretary of the Navy in the Woodrow Wilson administration), April 18, 1913, Papers of Josephus Daniels, Library of Congress. The *New York World* published a reference claiming that the State Department had information proving such charges on January 9, 1914.

2. The cost estimate was offered by Sherbourne G. Hopkins, attorney for the Revolutionaries, who contended that the Madero uprising cost less than \$1,500,000, and that the full amount could have been raised in Mexico. Hopkins made this statement in testimony before a Senate Committee, United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Revolutions in Mexico*, 62d Cong. 2d sess. (Washington, 1913), 743-44. Reports from United States consuls along the border indicated large scale arms shipments, and the readiness of dealers and arms firms to supply them indicates prompt payment by the Revolutionaries. The examples would be far too numerous to mention here.

3. In a letter to this author on April 26, 1966, an officer of the company's Public Relations Department stated that the company maintains no archives, explaining that portions of them were destroyed following their use by compilers of the company's official history. This scholarly history, while detailing the company's development and dealing with its operations in Mexico, does not deal with the question of its relation to the Mexican Revolutionaries: see Ralph W. and Muriel E. Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business: 1822-1911*, Vol. I of *The History of the Standard Oil Company* (New York, 1955).

4. Harold F. Williamson, et al., *The American Petroleum Industry* (Evanston, Illinois, 1959-1963), I, 690, and Tramerage, *World Struggle for Oil*, 88-89.

5. Robert G. Cleland, ed., *The Mexican Yearbook, 1920-21* (Los Angeles, 1922), 295 and 306; Tramerage, *World Struggle for Oil*, 28 and 95-98; and Wendell C. Gordon, *The Expropriation of Foreign-Owned Property in Mexico* (Washington, 1941), 53.

6. Tramerage, *World Struggle for Oil*, 88-89; Harvey O'Conner, *The Empire of Oil* (New York, 1955), 256-257.

7. Hidy and Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business*, 258 and 464.

8. John A. Spender, *Weetman Pearson: First Viscount Cowdray, 1856-1927* (London, 1930), 32-35, 84-86, 93-113, and 149-150; Bell, *The Political Shame of Mexico*, 125-127. For an explanation of the British interest in Mexican oil, see Kenneth J. Grieb, "Sir Lionel Carden: A British Diplomat in Mexico," in *Proceedings of the Second Annual Northern Great Plains History Conference* (Winnipeg, 1968), 141-149, and E.H. Davenport and Sidney Russell Cooke, *The Oil Trusts and Anglo-American Relations* (New York, 1924), *passim*.

9. Hidy and Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business*, 464; Spender, *Weetman Pearson*, 165; Bell, *The Political Shame of Mexico*, 126-127.

10. Henry Hamilton Fyfe, *The Real Mexico: A Study on the Spot* (New York, 1914), 193-199, contends that the companies were in fact forced to contribute to revolutionary movements by threats of the destruction of their property.

11. For an examination of the role of these charges and counter-charges in Anglo-American relations and in the diplomacy of both powers in Mexico, see Kenneth J. Grieb, *The United States and Huerta* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1969), 125-141.

12. Gordon, *The Expropriation of Foreign-Owned Property in Mexico*, 58-59.

13. Attorney General George W. Wickersham to Secretary of State Philander Knox, April 26, 1911, United States Justice Department Papers, National Archives, RG 60, 90755-782. (Hereinafter, Justice Department Papers will be cited as JD and the number.)

14. Wickersham to Knox, April 28, 1911, JD 90755-789, and May 2, JD 90755-810; also "Memorandum as to Standard Oil Company Matter," May 18, 1911, JD 90755-919.

15. Knox to John D. Archbold, May 10, 1911, JD 90755-863.

16. Knox to Wickersham, May 10, 1911, JD 90755-863.

17. Archbold to Knox, May 15, 1911, JD 90755-882.

18. William H. Libby to Wickersham, May 22, 1911, JD 90755-890, enclosing C.R. Troxel to Archbold, January 13, 1910, and Archbold to Troxel, January 14, 1910, stating: "We have given the subject presented [a proposal to purchase oil land in Mexico] attention, but do not desire to undertake it."

19. Wickersham to Libby, May 24, 1911, JD 90755-900.
20. Negotiations between the Maderistas and the government had been in progress, sporadically, since February, 1911; Juárez fell to the rebels May 10, and peace terms were agreed upon on May 21: Stanley R. Ross, *Francisco I. Madero: Apostle of Mexican Democracy* (New York, 1955), 155-170.
21. Hidy and Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business*, 448-449.
22. Williamson, *et al.*, *The American Petroleum Industry*, I, 544-545, and Hidy and Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business*, 448-449.
23. Williamson, *et al.*, *The American Petroleum Industry*, I, 542-545.
24. Allan Nevins, *Study in Power: John D. Rockefeller* (New York, 1952), II, 42-43, and Hidy and Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business*, 449.
25. Nevins, *Study in Power*, II, 42, quoting a letter from Charles M. Higgins, a Standard Oil executive, to Nevins.
26. *Ibid.*, 42, quoting a letter from Horace A. Hutchins, Standard Oil supervisor of all western marketing, to John D. Rockefeller, February 23, 1882. For accounts of the unsuccessful efforts of the central office to control Pierce, see *ibid.*, 42-43, and Hidy and Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business*, 448-451.
27. Diary of Colonel Edward M. House, October 27, 1913, Papers of Colonel Edward M. House, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University. An official of the Waters-Pierce Company had previously written President Taft, appealing for government assistance against the British firm: Stanley Copeland to Taft, March 1, 1913, United States State Department Papers, National Archives, RG 59, 812.00/6684. (Hereinafter, State Department papers will be cited as SD.)
28. Conversation Memorandum by Boaz Long, of a discussion with Pierce, November 3, 1913, SD 812.00/17670.
29. George Sweet Gibb and Evelyn H. Knowlton, *The Resurgent Years: 1911-1927*, Vol. II of *The History of the Standard Oil Company* (New York, 1956), 84-85.
30. The central office had previously attempted to curb Pierce's activities in Mexico, as he took steps in that country without consulting the trust's directors, who frequently learned of them only after the fact. The directors felt that they should be consulted prior to any new investment, but were unable to enforce their wishes: Nevins, *Study in Power*, II, 42-43, and Hidy and Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business*, 448-449.
31. *Ibid.* 448-451. The central office was also alarmed by Pierce's tendency to retain large amounts of capital on hand (Nevins, *Study in Power*, II, 43), and this suggests that he had the means at his personal disposal to expend considerable amounts of money in Mexico without it coming to the attention of the directors of the trust.
32. Gibb and Knowlton, *The Resurgent Years*, 85.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Testimony of Sherbourne G. Hopkins before a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, December 10, 1912, *Revolutions in Mexico*, 747.
35. Exchanges between Hopkins and Carranza, regarding various phases of Carranza's relations with the United States may be found in the Archivo Relaciones Exteriores Mexicana, Ministry of Relaciones Exteriores, Mexico City (hereinafter cited as AREM), and in Isidro Fabela, ed., *Documentos históricos de la Revolución*

Mexicana (12 vols. to date, Mexico, 1960-1967), containing papers from the private archive of Carranza's foreign minister. Volumes I to IV deal with the Carranza period, and volumes V to IX with the Madero years. The negotiations regarding purchase of the arms took place during February, 1914, AREM, L.E. 760, leg. 1 (75-R-21) and leg. 2 (75-R-22).

36. E. Bell to Boaz Long, Memorandum on Sherbourne G. Hopkins, June 14, 1913, SD 811.44H77.

37. Testimony of Sherbourne G. Hopkins before a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, December 10, 1912, *Revolutions in Mexico*, 747.

38. New York *Herald*, June 28, 1914.

39. Hopkins to Jose Vasconcelos, April, 1914, (no day), AREM, L.E. 760, leg. 2 (75-R-22), f 303.

Francisco de Ulloa, Joseph James Markey, and the Discovery of Upper California

By STEPHEN T. GARRAHY AND
DAVID J. WEBER

FRANCISCO DE ULLOA'S 1539-40 VOYAGE along the California coast has long represented a minor mystery for historians. Outfitted by Hernán Cortés, Ulloa had set out from Acapulco on July 8, 1539, with three ships: the *Santa Agueda*, the *Santo Tomás*, and the *Trinidad*. Cortés apparently had instructed Ulloa to investigate rumors of wealth to the north—to search for the elusive Strait of Anian and the Seven Cities of Cíbola.

Soon after the journey began, the smallest of Ulloa's ships, the twenty-ton *Santo Tomás*, sank off of Culiacán. The *Santa Agueda* and the *Trinidad* kept on, following a northerly course to the head of the Gulf of California. Ulloa briefly explored the mouth of the Colorado River, then turned south along the coast of Baja California, becoming the first European to observe that California was a peninsula and not an island. With considerable difficulty his two ships rounded the tip of Lower California and ventured up its Pacific coast into uncharted waters. By January 5, 1540, the vessels had beat their way up the coast to Cedros Island in latitude 28°.¹

For some three months Ulloa used Cedros Island as a base while preparing to push farther north. When supplies dwindled, Ulloa decided to send the *Santa Agueda* back to Mexico with a report. "I have determined," Ulloa wrote to Cortés, "with the ship *Trinidad* and these few supplies and men, to go on, if God grant me weather, as far as I can, and the wind will permit."²

Thus, in early April, 1540, the *Trinidad* and the *Santa Agueda* sailed from Cedros Island in opposite directions. It is known that the *Santa Agueda* reached Acapulco and that Ulloa's report found its way to Cortés. Exactly how far north the wind and weather permitted Ulloa and the *Trinidad* to travel, however, remains a disputed question.

Since the sixteenth century, some chroniclers and historians have held that Ulloa and the *Trinidad* never returned to Mexico. Hence, the northernmost point of the journey will never be known. This interpretation has lingered

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to the present day. As recently as 1959 a widely-read survey of California history asserted that Ulloa "and his vessel, with all on board, vanished into the empty seas."³

This standard explanation of Ulloa's fate was first seriously challenged in the 1920's by Henry R. Wagner. In his *California Voyages* Wagner offered impressive, if admittedly circumstantial, evidence of a cartographic and documentary nature that Ulloa returned to Mexico. Wagner also described errors in translation that had led some writers to suppose that Ulloa had not returned. Furthermore, Wagner noted that at least one chronicler, the famous Bernal Díaz, had recorded that Ulloa returned to the Mexican port of Jalisco where one of his own soldiers killed him.⁴ Wagner might also have added that the chronicler Francisco López de Gómara also reported Ulloa's return to Mexico.⁵

By 1940 Wagner had found further evidence to confirm his thesis. That year, in an article entitled "Francisco de Ulloa Returned," Wagner presented a convincing argument that Ulloa found his way back to Tehuantepec about mid-August, 1541. Wagner's evidence consisted of testimony in a lawsuit between Cortés and Juan de Castellón, chief pilot on the Ulloa expedition and captain of the *Santa Agueda*. Castellón had brought the suit against Cortés for alleged failure to fulfill a contract. Among those who testified in the case was Francisco de Ulloa himself. Ulloa testified in May, 1542, in Valladolid, Spain, to which he had traveled from Mexico in company with Cortés's son. There can be little doubt that this Francisco de Ulloa was the same Francisco de Ulloa who captained the *Trinidad*. Hence, Wagner was hardly immodest in concluding that Ulloa's testimony "settles for all time the question whether Ulloa returned or not."⁶

Henry R. Wagner could not, however, have anticipated the claims of Joseph James Markey, a physician from Oceanside, California, who has stated flatly that Ulloa never returned to Mexico. Without directly refuting Wagner's evidence, Markey has advanced the thesis that Ulloa sailed the *Trinidad* north from Cedros Island to discover Upper California. Ulloa, according to Markey, went as far north as Santa Barbara. Then, on the return toward the south, Ulloa dropped anchor at the mouth of the San Luis Rey River near today's Oceanside. There Ulloa and most of his crew died of scurvy, dysentery, or a combination thereof. Hence, argues Dr. Markey, when Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo reached California in September, 1542, his was only the second European expedition to do so. Francisco de Ulloa, Dr. Markey says, was "the first white man to set foot on California soil."⁷

Markey's theory rests on fascinating and seemingly impressive archaeological and documentary evidence. His first "discovery" of Ulloa's presence in the San Luis Rey Valley occurred in 1927 when he found the skeleton of a white European buried along with a knife, buttons, and a piece of breastplate. These artifacts, Markey says, date back to the era of the Spanish con-

quest of Mexico and tests supposedly revealed the skeleton to be about 400 years old.⁸

Markey's search for an explanation of his find led him to suspect that the artifacts might have come from the missing *Trinidad*. His suspicion was nurtured in 1950 when a chance meeting in Paris with one Miguel de Ulloa, a descendent of Francisco de Ulloa, brought forth the information that two members of the Ulloa expedition had survived. The story had been handed down through the generations.⁹

Acting on Miguel de Ulloa's suggestion, Markey traveled to Spain in 1951 to search for archival evidence of Ulloa's fate. Finally, three hired investigators turned up an account by Pablo Salvador Hernández, one of three survivors of the *Trinidad*.

The Hernández document, according to Markey, chronicles in considerable detail Ulloa's journey north from Cedros Island to Santa Barbara and to the San Luis Rey River Valley, where the *Trinidad* took shelter near the river's mouth. On August 21, 1540, the scurvy-stricken crew set up camp near an Indian village on an inland lake. Contracting dysentery from the fouled waters of the lake the men began to die. Although the living took shelter in a nearby hillside cave, disease continued to claim lives, including that of Ulloa. Meanwhile, Hernández and two other crewmen seem to have escaped infection by remaining most of the time on the ship and by drinking only wine. On Hernández's final visit to the cave, only a dying prostitute remained alive. To end her misery, Hernández is said to have dropped a stone on her head, then sealed the cave entrance with rocks. With two other surviving crewmen, Hernández rowed the *Trinidad's* longboat safely to Acapulco.

The Hernández account, Dr. Markey tells us, was accompanied by three maps. These showed the location of the *Trinidad* at anchor, the location of the cave, and the location of some gold that Ulloa had asked Hernández to bury.

In late July, 1951, with the Hernández maps to guide him, Markey located a cave containing skeletons, including one of a female with a crushed skull. In September, 1957, with the arrival of the third Hernández map from Spain, Markey was able to locate a treasure of 2,000 gold coins which date from the 1st century B.C. to about 1500 A.D.

These finds in the San Luis Rey Valley, Markey contends, irrefutably illustrate the validity of the Hernández account and prove that Ulloa perished near Oceanside. The *Trinidad* remains the final piece of evidence that evades Markey. Yet, he is confident that the ship lies along the coast between San Diego and Oceanside and that its discovery will place the capstone on his argument.

Since Markey made public the contents of the Hernández account in a speech before the San Diego Historical Society in January, 1952, his theory

has received a wide hearing. His claim that Ulloa discovered California has appeared in publications ranging from the *Los Angeles Times* to the *Dodge News*, and the story has been heard over radio, television and in public forums.¹⁰ An independent diving crew has placed such confidence in Markey that since 1968 they have been investing time and money to probe the ocean floor near Oceanside in search of the *Trinidad*. Although nothing substantial has been found to date, the search continues to attract attention to the theory that Ulloa discovered California.¹¹

Yet, despite the considerable publicity that Markey has received, only one historian has evaluated the Ulloa theory in a serious study. Maurice G. Holmes, in *From New Spain by Sea to the Californias, 1519-1668*, published in 1963, indicates that he was unable to locate the Hernández document in Spain and implies that he doubts the document exists.¹² This is the position which most historians, including Holmes, privately assume. Yet, Holmes and others have not publicly challenged or impugned Dr. Markey.

The public silence of the experts has led some of Markey's supporters to conclude that a conspiracy exists among professional historians to ignore Markey.¹³ In fact, the doctor himself seems to entertain this notion. In a scathing letter to the *San Diego Independent*, in May, 1968, Markey took to task what he termed the "so-called historians" of San Diego for failing to agree with him that Ulloa discovered California. Historians, Markey contemptuously charged, spread "six textbooks out on a table . . . copying facts that have been coming down to us for a hundred years. This way an inaccuracy is perpetuated from generation to generation. To steal from one author is plagiarism but to steal from six is 'research.'"

For his part, Markey boasted that he had "spent the last 25 years in original research. Not writing." His May, 1968, letter promised, nevertheless, "a 500 page document [book] (with 300 illustrations) which will appear in the next year or so." This forthcoming book, Markey opined, would immortalize Ulloa and give the "authorities . . . something new to copy. And lecture about."¹⁴

To date, the promised book has not appeared. When it does, perhaps it will attempt to resolve the discrepancy between Wagner's evidence that Ulloa returned to Spain and Markey's conviction that he is buried in the San Luis Rey Valley. Yet, a book authored by Dr. Markey will probably not convert many professionals to his point of view. As Markey himself has noted, "any would-be 'authority' can have a book published."¹⁵

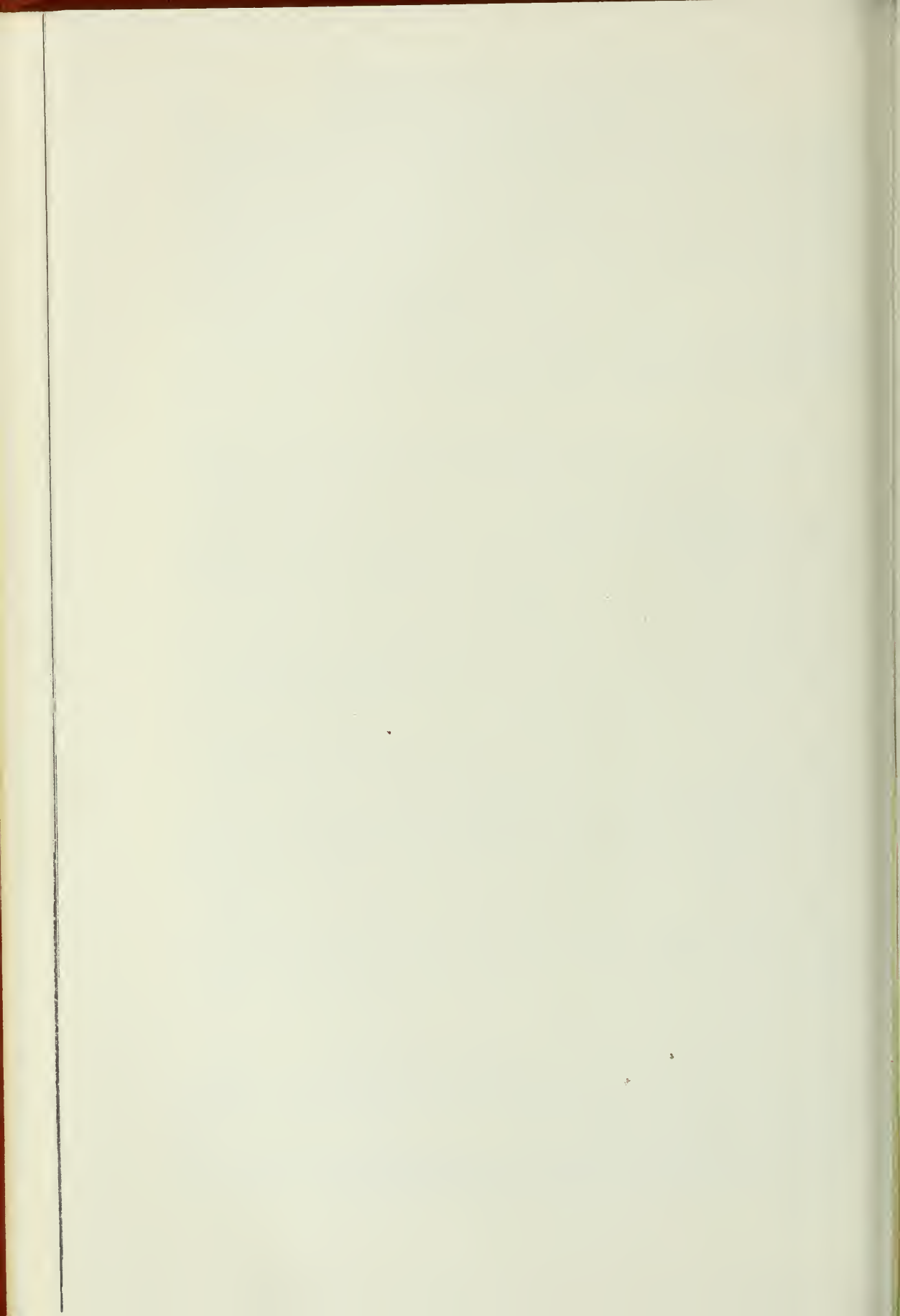
What is needed, if Dr. Markey wishes to prove his theory, is that the account by Pablo Salvador Hernández be made available to other scholars. Markey's archaeological evidence is not, in itself, sufficiently convincing. The Hernández account, however, which Markey claims to have drawn from extensively and which he has quoted from at times, constitutes the foundation of his entire argument and needs to be made public.

Had Dr. Markey wanted to withhold the Hernández document indefinitely, it would have been his prerogative. However, in view of his derision and contempt for historians who do not accept his thesis, and in view of the widespread publicity that he and his theory enjoy, it appears to us that Dr. Markey has engendered a responsibility to put forth his evidence. Merely telling a story over and over again is hardly sufficient to establish its credibility.

At this time, we can only conclude that Francisco de Ulloa discovered California because Joseph James Markey says that he did. To a person as intellectually vigorous as Dr. Markey, it ought to be apparent that this explanation is not satisfying to an inquiring mind.

NOTES

1. The facts of Ulloa's voyage as far as Cedros Island are well-known and agreed upon.
2. Quoted in Henry R. Wagner, ed., *California Voyages, 1539-1541* (San Francisco, 1925), 60, which contains Ulloa's report.
3. Robert Glass Cleland, *From Wilderness to Empire: A History of California*, ed. by Glenn S. Dumke (New York, 1959), 5-6. For a discussion of Ulloa and the chroniclers see Wagner, *California Voyages*, 5-12.
4. *Ibid.* Wagner first suggested that Ulloa returned in "The Discovery of California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 1 (July, 1922), 43.
5. Francisco López de Gómara, *Cortés: The Life of the Conqueror By His Secretary*, trs. and ed. by Lesley Byrd Simpson (Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1965), 403.
6. Henry R. Wagner, "Francisco de Ulloa Returned," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XIX (September, 1940), 240-244.
7. "Francisco de Ulloa, not Cabrillo, Discovered California," *Southern California Rancher* (February, 1952), 7. This article reproduces much of a talk that Markey gave before the San Diego Historical Society in January, 1952.
8. Although Markey has not directly published his thesis, it is possible to reconstruct the story from reports of talks and interviews that he has given. A succinct statement is the previously cited article in the *Southern California Rancher*. The most detailed published report of an interview with Markey is Vincent H. Gaddis, "He Found the Trinidad's Tantalizing Treasure," *True* (July, 1965), 52-55, 74-76. Brad and Choral Pepper, *The Mysterious West* (New York, 1967), 175-184, is another recounting of Markey's story based on information provided by Markey. Our own interview with Dr. Markey failed to elicit any details not already treated in these published accounts. Thus, the account which follows is a composite from the above sources.
9. *San Diego Union*, February 5, 1950.
10. A collection of clippings in the San Diego Historical Society's Serra Museum and Library is illustrative of the media's response to Markey's theory.
11. In 1968 the City of Oceanside issued a permit to Aztec Six, Inc., to explore nearby waters and work has continued through this writing (September, 1970). *The Independent* (San Diego), September 26, 1968.
12. Holmes, *From New Spain*, 89.
13. See, for example, Betty McKaig in *The Independent*, September 26, 1968.
14. J. J. Markey, letter to the Editor, *The Independent*, May 5, 1968.
15. *Ibid.*



An Early Attempt at International Goodwill

By ALBERT SHUMATE, M.D.

THE CRIMEAN WAR was of major interest in San Francisco, for many nationals of the warring nations had heeded the cry of "Gold!" and journeyed to the New World El Dorado. England, France, and Sardinia had allied themselves with Turkey to battle the Russian Empire. The conflict centered in the Allied siege of the city of Sebastopol, which was guarded by the great stone fortress called Malakoff. The siege opened in 1854, and finally met with success when on September 8, 1855, the fortress fell. The fall of Sebastopol followed within a few days, and in March, 1856, the defeated Czar Nicholas I signed a peace treaty.

Two names still found in California commemorate the war. The town of Sebastopol in Sonoma County is the last of five Sebastopols of the 1850's. Near Nevada City is the Malakoff Diggings, one of California's newest State Parks.

When the news of the fall of Sebastopol finally reached San Francisco, a grand celebration was planned for November 26, 1855, by representative Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Sardinians (as the Italians were called). Apparently there were few Turks available, for there was no representative of the Ottoman Empire.

Let the San Francisco newspapers tell the story of the "Grand Manifestation by the Allies":

Yesterday, a grand celebration took place here of the victories of the Allied Armies of France, England, Sardinia and Turkey in their contest with Russia.

Two thousand enthusiastic men assembled to honor their native countrymen in distant lands. . . . The offices of the French and English merchants were all closed, while business in the mercantile portion of the city was nearly suspended. . . .

At 10 a.m. the procession formed on Market Street, near Second and marched to South Park, where a spacious Pavilion had been prepared for the Banquet.

The procession four deep, was accompanied by a large concourse of people, and headed by an advance with the French, English and Sardinian flags, followed by the American flag, French and British consuls, Naval Officers, and invited guests, the band playing appropriate tunes. When the head of the procession reached the top of the hill, a salute was fired from the British frigate, *Amphitrite*, lying off Rincon Point. A wooden structure had been erected on the hill . . . to represent the Malakoff Tower

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"Grand Manifestation in Honour of the Success of the Allies in the Crimea, Given at South Park, San Francisco."



A sparkling daguerreian view shows South Park just after the first part of this English-type residential square was completed (probably early in 1855). *Photo courtesy of the Oakland Museum.*

... that great fortification which had cost the Allies so much blood and treasure, and which when taken proved to be the key to Sebastopol. From the mimic representation of this renowned Tower, the Allies fired the grand salute of the day.

The front of the Pavilion excited universal admiration. . . . In the centre were the words, "8th September 1855—Sebastopol." Above these were national arms of France and England, while Fame blew her trumpet that the world might hear. Over all were the allegorical figures of the four nations, France, England, Sardinia and Turkey—embracing each other. . . .

Wreaths of evergreens, the flags of the Allied Nations, and allegorical paintings of different kinds ornamented the remaining portions of the front of the Pavilion. This immense structure . . . was calculated to sit comfortably at table about 2,500 persons. Upon the canvas roof were displayed the flags of different nations, who either sympathized with the Allies or with whom the former were at peace. The "Stars and Stripes," of course, appeared among the national emblems.

On the platform before the Pavilion there were about one hundred vocalists and fifty instrumentalists. . . .

National airs were played by the band. . . . The musical part of the ceremony terminated shortly after noon. . . . All up to this moment had passed off most brilliantly. . . . For nearly an hour after this time the Pavilion was thrown open to the ladies who were present on the grounds. . . .

The preparations for the Banquet were on a magnificent scale. . . . Ten rows of seats, with tables on each side, extended from east to west in the Pavilion. These were divided in the centre by a broad platform about a foot high, which ran from south to north. On this platform were placed the Presidents and Vice Presidents, the members of the committee and the invited guests. . . .

On one side of them was a huge ox . . . standing, horns and all, roasted we understand by T. B. Faget, Clay Street Market, and so skillfully done that the hair which was left on from the knees down was still unsinged. . . .

On the other side was a cake of enormous dimensions, fashioned like a fortress, and which was supposed to represent the Malakoff. This cake was raised on a high pedestal, and its top was about ten feet from the ground. It bore on its base in golden letters the words, "8th September." Extending across the western extremity of the Pavilion was a large painting, representing the city of Sebastopol in flames. On a platform in front of this painting the band and choristers were placed.

The tables and seats were covered with white cloth. On the former there was a bounteous assortment of cold meats of every kind—sheep and pigs roasted whole, joints of all kinds of flesh, fowl of every variety. A bottle of claret stood beside every plate while dinner began, champagne was plentifully supplied to the company. Half a dozen hogsheads contained the wherewithal to satisfy such as liked a drop of beer.

Shortly after one o'clock, the ladies retired, and the company took their places at the table. . . . The dinner proceeded smoothly enough. . . . All were making merry with wine, when an interruption in the harmony of the proceedings took place, which ended in a general row, and broke up the meeting.

The row above alluded to began shortly after two o'clock. . . . The Malakoff cake was cut up for distribution, but somehow the process did not appear to be quick enough for the impatience of the guests. Some of these began to throw rolls of bread against the Tower, and immediately a perfect shower of light articles was directed against it, all in great good humor. The company were indisposed to listen to dull, dry speeches; the wine and the excitement of the day were having their natural effect. There was much noise and merriment. Some persons appear at this time to have laid

their shoulders to the Tower, and capsized it. Great shouts of laughter arose at this. Some French, English and Sardinian flags were now brought from distant parts of the Pavilion, and held upon the spot where the Tower had stood. At this time a person brought forward the American flag to mingle with the others. Soon after, an eager and angry rivalry appeared to take place between the bearers of the flags of the Allies and that of the Americans. . . . The war of flags continued for nearly two hours . . . including much strife and confusion. . . . Men were climbing on all sides of the poles that supported the roof, tearing and pulling down obnoxious flags and waving and fixing other flags in their stead.

The guests forgot to finish dinner; they stood on the tables, and sang their different national airs. The orchestra and chorus banged away at their own quarters. On the speaker's stand, in the centre of the Pavilion, many persons attempted, by remonstrances and earnest entreaties, to restore order . . . but all in vain. . . . Holes were cut in the canvas roof, and the rival flags were triumphantly cast out to the breeze. A portion of the roof fell, and half a dozen persons, who had been crawling on the high posts that supported it, were thrown violently to the ground. Then tables broke down by the weight of those who stood upon them. Noise, confusion and strife—the most hideous rowdyism ruled supreme. A great many—some hundreds, it was said—vagabonds and loafers, cut holes in the sides of the Pavilion, and then made themselves “at home.” Others . . . burst past the door-keepers, and defied all attempts to exclude them . . . it was impossible to proceed with the banquet; and, after unavailing attempts had been repeatedly made to restore order and peace, the company gradually withdrew from the Pavilion.

About four o'clock, the greater portion of the company had left the Pavilion.”

However, the day was not over. San Francisco displayed its usual cosmopolitan attitude, as reported in the *Daily Bulletin*:

RUSSIAN SYMPATHY—A large concourse of persons marched last night to the residence of the Russian Consul (Peter Kostromitoff, on the corner of Essex and Folsom streets), who appeared on the balcony with his son, a little boy of about seven years. The latter said: “Gentlemen, my father desires me to say that this kind visit from you to express your sympathies for the people whom he represents, is deeply appreciated by him, and will always be remembered. He cannot express his sentiments in the English language, but he wishes you to be assured that he feels very grateful.” Three cheers were given by the crowd, which then dispersed.

During the next week the newspapers commented on the causes “which brought disgrace on the whole affair.” Comments included such statements as:

The French thought the English were attempting to take precedence of them. The English thought the French vain glorious. . . .

We regret to see the exhibition of a too morbid sensitiveness on the part of a portion of the French citizens . . . to view the acts of their American Brethren . . . as a premeditated insult to France.

That a few Americans having at first no participation in the melee, found themselves eventually in the mad vortex and yielded themselves up to the wild excitement of the hour when the fun grew fast and furious is undeniable. . . .

Another stated that “the thieves and loafers had got in and caused the disgraceful scenes.”

An Englishman wrote regarding the "disgraceful—disgusting details" . . . that "Americans hate liberty except for themselves."

The San Francisco *Herald* defended the Americans in an editorial, stating, "We have been informed that several Negroes joined the procession," that Americans were "jealous of foreign interference in slavery" and further that "contempt was evinced for America and American institutions . . . by the open admission of Negroes to all festivities."

So the battle of words continued after the battle at South Park was long over! The thoughts are not recorded of the aristocratic ladies living nearby in their sedate South Park residences, more familiar with teas and kettledrums than rowdy riots.

So concluded an attempt at goodwill and brotherly love between the citizens of various nations in the lusty, youthful days of the Golden State.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The South Park incident of November 26, 1855, was covered extensively by the San Francisco press in a period when there were many more daily journals than our large cities can boast today. The long narrative quotation is from the *California Chronicle* of November 27 (Kemble Collection, California Historical Society). Reference to the *Bulletin* account and subsequent "follow-ups" in that journal and the *Chronicle* are used in the text. The *Herald* carried a very long story of the Battle of South Park on November 26; this account is at least as colorful as the *Chronicle's* and corroborates the general narrative.

BOOK REVIEWS

In Pursuit of the Golden Dream: Reminiscences of San Francisco and the Northern and Southern Mines, 1849-1857. By Howard C. Gardiner. Edited by Dale L. Morgan. (Stoughton, Mass.: Western Hemisphere, Inc., 1970. 390 pp. \$30.00.) Reviewed by David T. Leary.

Howard C. Gardiner left his native New York in 1849, spent some nine years in Gold Rush California, and went home in 1857. He never returned to the Pacific Coast, but during the 1890's he did put his California experiences down on paper. Although Gardiner contemplated immediate publication, his work has not seen print until now. Dale L. Morgan, distinguished student of Western America and Fellow of the California Historical Society, has turned out a handsome and formidable edition titled *In Pursuit of the Golden Dream*. It is rewarding both as exciting narrative and as scholarly source.

His years in California, said Gardiner, were the happiest of his life. And surely his adventures in Panama, San Francisco, and the northern and southern mines have a carefree spirit about them. It was a blithe period for Gardiner—as it must have been for many others.

In point of fact, the author's insouciant mood belies the mature years of his authorship. It is not so much that Gardiner lets his first months in California run away with a good bit of his account. It is, rather, that he frequently reports without imparting texture; that he often sees without reflecting.

Still, Gardiner's memoirs are not trifling. Apparently without intent, Gardiner projects a spirit of the time, and thus, if insouciance flaws at one level, it certainly redeems on another. More than this, however, Gardiner describes not only mining, but also politics, business, agriculture—indeed, a number of activities that engaged him. His writing is thus a distinctly useful tool for knowing Gold Rush life, spirit and fact.

Editor Morgan has enhanced the volume's utility in several ways. He has fitted it with maps and illustrations. Also, he has provided a fine set of notes, which offers much supplementary information and points out instances when Gardiner is factually off the mark. Then, too, Morgan has compiled a detailed index. While he intends this to be helpful in the development of a Gold Rush history, by states, it will obviously assist readers whose bent lies elsewhere.

Perhaps most importantly, however, in his introduction Morgan reviews approximately a hundred published reminiscences of the Gold Rush. While the popular book is one of the very best clues to the thinking of a period, the business of developing a reasonable list of titles is sometimes monumental. For itself, then, Morgan's introduction is a significant contribution.

Either as interesting narrative or as scholarly storehouse, *In Pursuit of the Golden Dream* is notable. And although such is scarcely needed, it is fresh evidence of Dale L. Morgan's value to the field of western history.

DAVID T. LEARY, a specialist in California history and popular writing in the first half of the 19th century, is an associate professor at Pasadena City College.

Gold Mines of California: An Illustrated History of the Most Productive Mines with Descriptions of the Interesting People Who Owned and Operated Them. By Jack R. Wagner. (Berkeley, California: Howell-North Books, 1970. 259 pp. \$10.00.) Reviewed by John A. Hussey.

One day near the end of 1965 broadcasting executive Jack R. Wagner happened upon a newspaper article reporting that California's last major operating gold mine, the Sixteen to One at Alleghany, was closing down for good. He realized that time

was running out for an industry that since 1848 had been a major force in the state's development, and he decided to record what he could of it while the more fugitive sources—the personal and company papers, the photographs, and, most of all, the miners and operators themselves—were still available.

The result is *Gold Mines of California*, a fascinating collection of histories of a dozen of the state's most famous and productive quartz mines. While the narratives are well charged with the necessary hard facts concerning the oft-tangled chains of ownership, numerous consolidations, depths of workings, tons of ore crushed per day, and amounts of gold recovered, such legal and statistical details are generously larded with biographical sketches of the colorful people who owned, operated, and worked the mines and with tales of ghosts and high-graders, disasters and bonanzas, murders and heroism. Deliberately intended not to be a technical treatise on mining or a sociological study of mining life, the book nevertheless vividly portrays the methods by which the deep underground workings were developed and operated and conveys a sense of the challenges faced by those who followed the tantalizing business of quartz mining.

Despite his book's title, Mr. Wagner has prudently avoided the temptation to tell the stories of all of California's far-flung mining districts. The enterprises he describes were all located on the Mother Lode and in the Grass Valley-Nevada City area immediately to the north. The book opens with two introductory chapters, the first on placer mining, with emphasis on hydraulic operations, and the second—a most valuable contribution—on gold dredging. Then follow the chapters on the individual quartz mines, the Eagle-Shawmut at Jacksonville, the Argonaut and the Kennedy at Jackson, the Empire at Grass Valley, and eight others whose names were once known in mining circles around the world.

It is difficult to decide whether this work should be considered as highly readable text brilliantly illuminated by the many illustrations, or whether the narrative should be treated as an extended label for one of the most instructive collections of California mining pictures ever printed. Suffice it to say that Mr. Wagner, with the help of numerous libraries, private collectors, government agencies, and mining families, has assembled a series of photographs, paintings, and prints (many not previously reproduced) that go hand in hand with the text to make this book one of the year's major accomplishments in California publishing.

It is difficult to imagine any reader interested in California history who will not enjoy *Gold Mines of California*, but perhaps scholars should be warned that occasionally the haste with which Mr. Wagner worked can be detected. It is doubtful, for instance, that William Jennings Brvan would recognize the definition of "sixteen to one" that appears on page 237, and the date of January 19, 1948, for Marshall's discovery of gold has long been discarded in favor of January 24. But such lapses are minor and do not detract from the very real contribution made by this book. It appears destined to become standard background reading for a trip to California's gold country.

JOHN A. HUSSEY is the San Francisco-based historian for the National Park Service.

The National Register of Historic Places: 1969. (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior. National Park Service, 1969. 352 pp. including index. Black and white illustrations. \$5.25.) Reviewed by Joseph A. Baird, Jr.

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 has led to a reorganization of the internal structure of the historic buildings and sites divisions of the National Park Service. After thirty years of useful activity by the Historic American Buildings

Survey, a creation of Depression times ironically (it is only in periods of economic recession that historic buildings are likely to survive the frenetic onslaughts of "progress"), a much enlarged staff and improved recording facilities have made a national register inevitable. Much of the ethos of the new movement came from the National Trust (a key Trust person, William J. Murtagh, became Keeper of the Register). Planned as a biennial publication, the book at hand is a handy oblong divided alphabetically by states.

In his foreword, Secretary Hickel says: "Historic preservation is vital to our quest for a better environment . . . Improvement of the old and familiar may be a better choice than destruction for the reward unknown. By this approach we choose not to impede progress, but to support it." These are brave words. Unfortunately, the record of preservation in the United States is one of the worst in the world. During the unparalleled productivity and increase in gross (how appropriate!) national product of the last two decades, there has been ruthless disregard for preservation. The bulletins of the National Trust are full of infamous deeds of destruction in the name of progress. One of the very buildings recorded in the present volume, the Dodge house in Los Angeles by Irving Gill, was bulldozed into infinity against all the counsel and efforts of preservationists. If there is to be any more than a token record of America's historic past, and more than a totally unhistoric "re-creation" of the past in expensive Disneyland subsidized by state and national governments, much needs to be done.

For a review of such a register in the CHS *Quarterly*, one is primarily concerned with the section on California. The principles of selection, if indeed they can be called principles in any logical sense of that word, are curious indeed. Room 307, Gilman Hall at UC Berkeley (where plutonium was discovered), and the first Pacific Coast Salmon Cannery site (now located on a dreary, brush-covered bank of the Sacramento, opposite the "soon-to-be" glories of an Old Sacramento that never was) rub elbows with Fort Ross and the Santa Barbara Mission. One wonders why the Santa Barbara and Carmel Missions are included, but not San Francisco, which is as architecturally interesting and as "historic.." All of the missions have been subjected to endless restoration; it would be difficult to say which is more "historic." Why are two ships included in such a register? And why several wildlife refuges? I do not mean to imply that such things are not to be preserved, but if a former salmon canning site and a lumber ship are historic, why not one of the San Francisco Bay ferries or, to push this to ridiculous extremes, an Indian reed canoe?

One can not crowd all of history into one category. The plaintive list of five terms on p. XIV is witness to the agencies of the selection committee. When one is forced to define a *building* as a structure created to shelter any form of human activity or a *structure* as a work constructed by man, reason is at a far remove. It would have been far better in such a register to divide the material into sensible divisions. A separate register of historic buildings, a separate register of historic sites without buildings, etc. This present procrustean approach is bureaucratic and meaningless. One hopes that not only will this division be made in further registers, but that a great many more obvious additions will occur—the John Marsh house, the John Bidwell house, Temeles Hall, the Vallejo house at Sonoma, the Carson house at Eureka are but a few examples of residential architecture alone in northern California. Ghirardelli Square's dynamic re-use, rather than recreation of the past, falls squarely into Secretary Hickel's suggestions—but it is not included; however, the Old Mission Dam in San Diego County is—a meager remnant of an irrigation project which serves no present purpose. If history is to live and be used, it will not be through an entombment of Well No. 4, Pico Canyon Oil Field, on government records.

The visual presentation of the book is clear, the facts are carefully researched. Photographs are generally from National Park Service files. A slightly less funereal use of black bars to divide each entry might suggest a more hopeful future note for these entries, and not their imminent demise.

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The Wild West or, A History of the Wild West Shows, Being and Account of the Prestigious, Peregrinatory Pageants Pretentiously Presented Before the Citizens of the Republic, the Crowned Heads of Europe, and Multitudes of Awe-struck Men, Women, and Children Around the Globe, Which Created A Wonderfully Imaginative and Unrealistic Image of the American West. By Don Russell. (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1970. 152 pp. \$7.95.) Reviewed by Richard Batman.

Any historian of the American West soon becomes aware that he is operating in a dual subject, one part of which is the west in reality, the other part the Wild West that is seen virtually every night on television. Such historians have handled this dilemma by concentrating on the "real" west and dismissing the role it played in the popular mind and the image that was created as unimportant. This decision, although it results in leaving out much that is important in the American West, is understandable considering some of the books that have been available on the popular west.

There has been, however, some good material and one man who has been responsible for much of this is Don Russell. And in his latest book, *The Wild West*, Russell has once again made a significant contribution to the subject.

In this particular book Russell is concerned with the Wild West shows that were a popular feature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It has long been difficult to approach this field because of the confusion caused by the large number of shows, many of which lasted only a year or two. Russell, however, has cut through this complex subject quite well in the text, then has provided an appendix listing each of the many shows, the various name changes, and the years of operation.

The author has also quite neatly handled the problem of which was the first Wild West show by quite candidly admitting he is not sure. He does, however, trace the various traditions that combined to make such a show, quite correctly points out that being first is not as important as being influential, and then makes an intelligent argument for Buffalo Bill's show as being, not the first, but certainly the most influential progenitor of the tradition.

The Wild West, then, is a valuable addition to the literature of the popular west. In closing it might be well to add one interesting comment Russell makes on the popularity of the Wild West show. He says:

Before World War I a wide-spread theory held that there was something called Western Civilization; that it had been developed in Europe; and Americans, despite much brash boasting of the merits of democracy, regarded culture as an import. . . . Buffalo Bill's Wild West has been the sensation of Europe for five of the last six years. Americans would accept that favorable verdict.

Historians who would dismiss the Wild West as a reflection of the simplicity of the American mind and the lack of culture in America might do well to ponder the implications of these statements.

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Latest from Arizona: The Hesperian Letters, 1859-1861. Edited by Constance Wynn Altshuler. (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1969. 293 pp. \$10.00). Reviewed by Harwood P. Hinton.

In the early part of 1859, Thompson M. Turner, a printer from Cincinnati, Ohio, arrived in the mining town of Tubac, Arizona, and in the fall began sending letters monthly (and sometimes weekly) to the St. Louis *Missouri Republican* and the San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, describing the local scene. The letters were published under the pen name "Hesperian," a poetic rendering of the term "westerner." Sixty-five of these letters (October 17, 1859-May [?], 1861) are presented in Constance W. Altshuler's *Latest from Arizona: The Hesperian Letters, 1859-1861*.

The first part of the book contains an introduction and a biographical sketch of Turner. In the introduction the editor describes her search for the Turner dispatches, her editorial techniques, and the significance of the letters. Unfortunately, little attention is given to the time and setting in Arizona, and as a result the reader proceeds without a clear frame of reference. The sketch of Turner reveals pertinent information about his professional life but little else; one wonders whether county histories and records in his home state were consulted to flesh out his life.

The Hesperian letters reveal a great deal about the Santa Cruz Valley and adjacent regions during the late 1850s and early 1860s. Turner sheds new light on the interest in the San Pedro Valley at this time, the importance of the stage lines to the economy of the Tucson-Tubac area, the changing fortunes of the mining companies, the campaigning against the Apaches, the impact of the Mimbres River (New Mexico) gold strike on the Santa Cruz Valley, and the local attempts to create a Territory of Arizona. Fuller annotations in this section would have been helpful.

In the last part of the volume are seven appendices and a set of vignettes. The appendices present commentaries ("Arizona," "Mexico," "the Army," etc.) on the period in which the Hesperian letters were written. Some of the commentaries are more relevant than others. Some contain inaccuracies: for example, in Appendix 2, Governor Manuel Gándara was not replaced until January of 1856, then refused to give up the office to José de Aguilar; La Guásima should be rendered Las Guásmias; and W. D. Porter is W. H. Porter. One of the most interesting appendices (No. 5) untangles the fact and legend about the Bascom incident at Apache Pass. Also valuable are the half dozen news items (Appendix 7) clipped from the Tucson *Arizonian*—which Turner edited briefly—and published in other newspapers during the spring of 1861. The vignettes vary in length from one sentence to three pages and include 116 personalities mentioned in the Hesperian letters. Only a few sketches have supporting references.

The book is attractively designed and sturdily bound. The only illustration is an excellent map of the country between El Paso and Yuuma, with stage routes, forts, towns, and mines clearly depicted. The index is disappointing, with no entries for such important items as Mesilla, Apache Pass, etc., while speedwriting, milk, and tripod are included. Despite its departure from the use of conventional editorial apparatus, *Latest from Arizona* provides valuable knowledge and increased dimension to a little known period of Arizona history. It will be welcomed by both the student and the general reader interested in a first-hand glimpse at the southwest over one hundred years ago.

HARWOOD P. HINTON is a professor of history at the University of Arizona, Tucson, and editor of *Arizona and the West*.

Through the Country of the Comanche Indians in the Fall of the Year 1845: The Journal of a U.S. Army Expedition Led by Lieutenant James W. Abert of the Topographical Engineers. Edited by John Galvin. (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1970. xviii & 77 pp., illus., maps, index, 10 x 14".) Reviewed by David J. Weber.

In 1966 John Howell Books published John Galvin's handsome edition of Lt. James W. Abert's "Examination of New Mexico in the Years 1846-1847" under the title *Western America in 1846-1847*. Now, as something of a companion piece, Howell and Galvin have brought forth the journal of Abert's reconnaissance of the Canadian River in 1845.

Each of these works had been previously published as Senate Documents (in 1848 and 1846 respectively), and their value to historians is well-known. *Through the Country of the Comanche Indians* is, of course, more accessible, more readable, and more beautiful than the government publication, and rendered more useful by a thorough index. This new edition is also a trifle more accurate since it is a collation of a government clerk's copy of Abert's original journal and the Senate Document. Unfortunately, Galvin was not lucky enough to find the original journal itself, which, as in the case of *Western America*, might have provided more details than the government version.

The chief contribution, however, of this new edition of Abert's 1845 report is to bring to light Galvin's discovery of previously unknown water colors by Abert, twenty-four of which are beautifully reproduced in this volume. Abert produced some charming scenes and Indian portraits and was a good draftsman whom Galvin terms an "artist extraordinary," without really telling us why. Perhaps, however, the paintings are to speak for themselves and certainly scenes such as those of Bent's Fort are of considerable historical value.

Lt. Abert had gone West in 1845 with Fremont's third expedition and had been dispatched from Bent's Fort at the head of a thirty-three man expedition charged with exploring the Canadian River to its mouth at the Arkansas. Abert's writing reveals a strong interest in the flora, fauna, and geography along his route. The same might be said of John Galvin, whose editorial notes concentrate on identifying place names and scientific works to which Abert alludes. Galvin makes little attempt to identify the people who accompanied Abert or the Indians he sketched. At the least, the reader ought to be told of the published biographies of such well-known figures as Thomas Fitzpatrick and Caleb Greenwood, while lesser-knowns who figure prominently in the narrative, such as John Hatcher, merit some biographical introduction.

The editor's notes are simply too few. When, for example, Abert quotes Thomas Fitzpatrick's lengthy discourse on the origin of Indian languages, the reader deserves to know if Fitzpatrick is talking nonsense or not. Finally, it would have been useful to discuss the significance of this topographical expedition's work—its contribution to cartography and its relation to the impending War with Mexico.

Yet, if the editor skimmed on details, the publisher did not. Like all Lawton and Alfred Kennedy-designed books, this is a beauty and, at the price, an extraordinary bargain.

DAVID J. WEBER is associate professor of history at San Diego State College, currently on leave as a Fulbright-Hays Lecturer at the Universidad de Costa Rica.

Voyages and Adventures of La Pérouse. Translated by Julius S. Gassner. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1969. 162 pp. \$8.00). Reviewed by A. P. Nasatir.

This beautifully printed slim volume on La Pérouse's voyage is a tribute to the Friends of the University of Hawaii. It was printed in an endeavor to popularize the

work of La Pérouse among readers in the United States. Californians have always been interested in La Pérouse, who was the first official French visitor to its shores. Although his stay of about ten days in Monterey in 1786, was relatively short, his description is of much interest and value. It is true that Cook's voyage which preceded La Pérouse is perhaps of greater overall importance in the work of scientific exploration of the Pacific, and Vancouver's subsequent visit and mapping of the West Coast of North America, are much better known than La Pérouse. Yet, the La Pérouse voyage was a valuable one. He had with him specialists in nearly every scientific field who drew up accurate reports and tables.

In 1786, La Pérouse was sent on his voyage around the world. Fortunately he sent his records back to France just prior to his disappearance. Despite the outbreak of the French Revolution, the French government published his work in four volumes, and it was soon thereafter translated into English and published in London in three volumes. Most scholars and interested persons have known that edition. However, to make the work of La Pérouse better known, F. Valentin published a one volume abridgement of the four volume work in 1839. This went through several editions. It is the 14th edition of this shortened version, published in 1875, that Dr. Gassner has here translated.

Anyone interested in reading about Pacific exploration would appreciate this version, and would emerge with a general knowledge of La Pérouse and what he accomplished. But any scholar, or anyone interested in working in the field of exploration, or any part of 18th century history of the Pacific, or the Pacific Coast area, or even Hawaii, must read the original edition. The interesting descriptions of places, events and observations are lacking in this volume. Where quotations are given by Valentin, they do not coincide with the original. For instance, the quotation on pages 49-50 are summarized from Volume II, pp. 215-224, of the original English translation; Chapter II, pp. 46-51 of this edition is covered in Volume II, pp. 194-235; Chapter V, pp. 52-64 are abridged from Volume II, pp. 247-332. All the illustrations handsomely printed in the work under review, are taken from the original edition with one of them turned around; the total number of illustrations are in no way comparable in number to the many charts, maps, and illustrations contained in the original edition. The supplementary correspondence and letters, maritime tables, etc., are of course omitted.

Dr. Gassner has modernized some of the place names, and has not burdened his edition with the scholarly attributes of specialists in the field. He has, however, added condensed versions of some of the descriptions of the natives, taken from the journal of Rollin, ship's surgeon on the La Pérouse expedition.

Dr. Gassner's translation of Valentin's 14th edition of his abridgement really should serve well the translator's purpose of introducing to American readers an important figure "virtually unknown in the United States outside of esoteric circles." Scholars should consult the original edition, or Charles N. Rudkin's account of La Pérouse in California published in 1959, or E. W. Allen's biography of La Pérouse produced with a bibliography in the same year. General readers will read Gassner's translation for learning about the great adventure that La Pérouse's Voyage really was.

A. P. NASATIR is a professor of history at San Diego State College and past president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association.

California Imprints, 1846-1876 Pertaining to Social, Educational, and Religious Subjects. Compiled by Clifford Merrill Drury. (Glendale: Distributed for the author by Arthur H. Clark Co., 1970. 220 pp. \$10.00). Reviewed by Francis J. Weber.

The epithet describing bibliography as "the vestibule of science" is nowhere more

proudly sustained than in Dr. Clifford Drury's long-awaited compilation of religious, educational and social books, pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, broadsides and manuscripts issued in California between 1846 and 1876.

This study, a labor of love and dedication to an ideal, has been many years in preparation. As far back as 1966, this writer recalls strongly recommending its publication as a unique contribution to the field of Western Americana. Since that time, additional entries have been made and existing ones enlarged upon to the extent that the completed opus now includes 300 titles not mentioned in the monumental bibliography of Robert E. Cowan.

Encompassing 1099 publications issued during the three decades between the inauguration of United States sovereignty and the last year surveyed by the American Imprints Inventory, the only specifically excluded categories are governmental publications, reprints from state legislative journals, materials related to the Pious Fund of the Californias and certain non-relevant religious and educational ephemera.

The coverage is richly expanded by three worthwhile appendices; one listing sixty extra-territorial items; another enumerating forty-four religious periodicals and a select grouping of thirty-five reference titles postdating the terminal date of 1876. In the twenty-two page introduction, the compiler carefully delineates the nature of his study as well as departure points for additional contributions of a related nature.

Entries, listed by author or sponsoring agency, are arranged alphabetically within particular years. Each title is described, annotated and located in at least one of the forty-eight prominent libraries, museums and archival centers surveyed.

Dr. Drury's bibliography amply fulfills his intention of providing a launching pad for further research towards the ultimate objective of a definitive history of religion in California. This study, issued in a limited edition of 500 copies, enhances the already enviable reputation of a nationally recognized historian, but, more than that, it demonstrates his remarkable competence in the allied and pivotal field of bibliographical research, upon which historical science depends for its very viability.

FRANCIS J. WEBER is archivist for the Archdiocese of Los Angeles and author of numerous books on the history of the Catholic Church in California.

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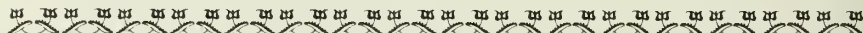
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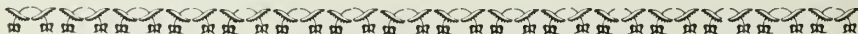
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March 9 through May 22

"Sailing Days on the Redwood Coast"—A photographic exhibition of shipping, towns, and the lumber industry along the Mendocino Coast from 1860 to 1890. Assembled with the cooperation of the San Francisco Maritime Museum, this is the most complete exhibition ever presented on the subject. *CHS Headquarters.*

March 9 through May 29

Selections from the permanent collection of the Society.

April 6 through May 1

Photographs, prints, and memorabilia of the 1906 fire and earthquake.

SPECIAL EVENTS

Sunday, April 18

"I Was There," the annual CHS observance of the San Francisco fire and earthquake, will be held at 3:00 p.m. in *Fireman's Fund Auditorium, 3333 California St., San Francisco.* First-hand accounts of the 1906 holocaust will accompany a special showing of an outstanding documentary film. Dr. J. S. Holliday will be the program's moderator. Reservations necessary.

Tuesday, April 20

A reception honoring retired San Francisco Fire Dept. Chief William F. Murray will be held from 3 to 5 p.m. at the old *Green Street Firehouse.* CHS members and their guests will have an opportunity to tour the former home of San Francisco Fire Engine Company 31 that Mr. and Mrs. Ralph K. Davies, its present owners, have transformed into one of the city's most unique museums. Reservations necessary.

Friday, April 23

Book Auction—Duplicate and out-of-field material will be sold at an auction jointly sponsored by CHS and the Society of California Pioneers at 8 p.m. in *Pioneer Hall, 456 McAllister St., San Francisco.*

April 24 through May 1

Master photographers Ansel Adams and Morley Baer will conduct a photography workshop in *Yosemite*, with field trips to Wawona, Mariposa, Hornitos, and Mt. Bullion, for one week beginning April 24. Arranged exclusively for members of the California Historical Society, those participating in the workshop will be working with authorities on the history, geology, and architecture of the region.

May 4 through June 15

"Ethnic Experiences in California" will be the subject of a series of seven Tuesday evening lectures and discussions at *CHS Headquarters* to be given in cooperation with U. C. Extension.

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January 11, 1916. *When I get up late I always feel as if I had come in when two acts of a play had gone—as if I had missed something. I like to live the day from sunrise to moonrise.*

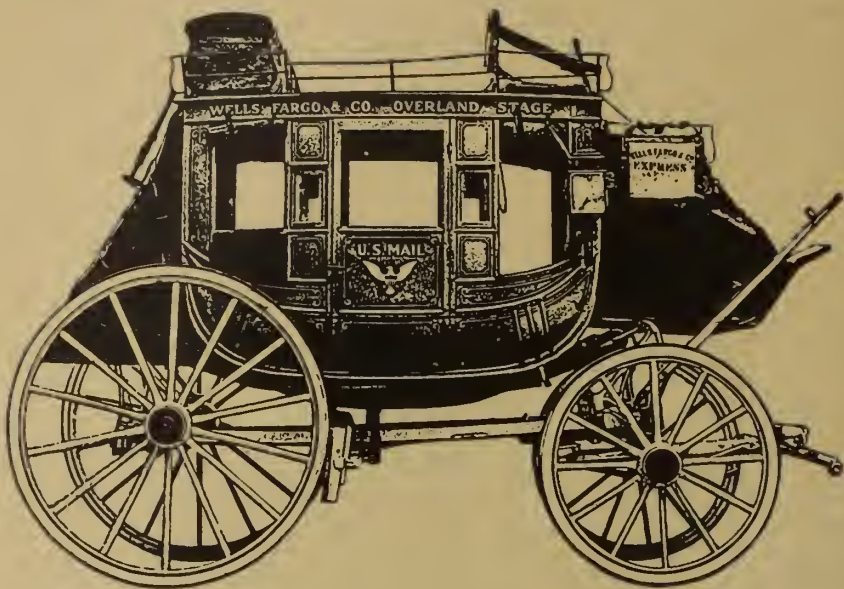
May 12, 1916. *Went to the Lincoln Steffens' dinner. Interesting, but did not convince me. His answers seem half answers. Then he is always trying to fit the world to his theory of no government. The moment a man accepts a definite theory about anything, his mind ceases to be interesting. Berkman (leading anarchist associated with Emma Goldman) was there and said he had no hatred of Frick when he shot him.*

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COVER: "The Boss Historian" was the title of this devastating cartoon of Hubert Howe Bancroft that appeared in San Francisco's weekly satirical sheet, *The Wasp*, on April 18, 1885. The many hands of apprentice and journeyman historians scarcely interrupt the master's cerebations. By this time it is, of course, unnecessary to defend Bancroft—his monumental *History of the Pacific Slope* speaks for itself and his methods are today not at all unusual. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the cartoon is that Bancroft's "History Company" should have created sufficient stir to earn a fierce jibe on the cover of a magazine like *The Wasp*. (Cartoon courtesy of John Swingle, Alta California Bookstore.)

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Theodore H. Hittell and Hubert H. Bancroft: Two Western Historians

IN THE 1880's, CALIFORNIANS observed the appearance of two multi-volumed histories of their state. Both works were so extensive, fundamental, and deeply rooted in detail that they have since influenced California historical writing. One was the product of the determination and ambition of Hubert H. Bancroft, a well-known San Francisco bookseller and publisher.¹ The other represented twenty-five years of research and writing by the prominent San Francisco attorney, Theodore H. Hittell.²

Although both works were written concurrently, they showed no evidence of cooperation. Nor did either author acknowledge the work of the other. When the philosopher and historian Josiah Royce reviewed the two works (Hittell, Vol. II; Bancroft, Vol. III) for *The Nation*, he remarked ruefully that the two undertakings lacked any sort of cooperative scholarship. He placed the blame with Hittell, chiding the historian for his failure to use more fully the resources of his contemporaries. "No historian," exclaimed Royce, "can gain by stubborn independence, or by ignoring fellow-students merely because their books are published at nearly the same time with his own."³ Since Royce's time, other historians have echoed these sentiments, with Hittell bearing the brunt of criticism.⁴

The following does not seek to vindicate Theodore Hittell from the charge of "stubborn independence." Admittedly, he was often stubborn and fiercely independent. Yet, there were many circumstances which made difficult, if not impossible, any sort of collaboration between the two. This paper seeks to explain some of these circumstances. It attempts to answer questions regarding the authors' personal relationship as well as how they viewed each other's work. Finally, it explores how the two men differed regarding the craft of writing history.

In seeking explanations one is immediately confronted by the limited evidence available. There seemed to be a "conspiracy of silence" between the two historians. Unquestionably they were acquainted, for in a letter to the California historian Rockwell Hunt, Hittell mentioned that he had made the acquaintance of Bancroft before he had begun his history.⁵ Furthermore, both men lived over sixty years in San Francisco and shared mutual interests that must have brought them together on occasion.⁶

Whatever the particular circumstances of their first meeting, it was not pleasant, for Hittell adds in his letter to Hunt that their introduction "did not make me feel kindly towards him."⁷ This personal antipathy evidently intensified through the years when both scholars were publishing the results of their investigations. Yet any animosity between the two men was kept strictly to themselves. In the foregoing letter to Hunt, Hittell reminded the young historian that he had been asked his opinion on Bancroft in confidence and that he desired his answer "to be considered as confidential." Hittell added that he did "not wish to be known as saying anything about him or his books."⁸ Hunt respected the wishes of the senior historian, and when his somewhat critical article on Bancroft appeared in 1911, Hittell was not mentioned.⁹ It is also significant that Theodore Hittell's grandson, who was close to the historian in his old age, has stated that he never once heard his grandfather say anything derogatory about Bancroft or his histories.¹⁰

The only instance when Hittell referred to Bancroft in print was in regard to consideration by the State of California of purchase of the Bancroft Library. In his *History of California*, he noted that in 1887 a bill was introduced for purchase of the library. The bill was soon withdrawn and never came to a vote. Hittell might have easily dropped the matter, but unfortunately he took the liberty of calling the Bancroft collection "of little value" and "unreliable."¹¹ It is rather remarkable that Bancroft's magnificent collection of manuscripts and books, which has become the backbone of research on California and the Far West, he considered "of no great use to the state."¹² Whether professional jealousy or ignorance of the collection (or both) caused this miscalculation is not certain. Whatever the cause for this brief diatribe, it is surely one of his most offensive paragraphs to the professional historian.

It is certain that Hittell never used the Bancroft Library nor did he even visit the collection.¹³ Furthermore, it is unlikely that Hittell ever approached Bancroft with the idea of using his manuscripts and rare materials. For better or worse, Hittell was a truly independent man, and the thought of borrowing materials from Bancroft was no doubt repulsive to him. George Hamlin Fitch, in a complimentary review, likened Hittell's work to that of George Bancroft, John Lathrop Motley, and Francis Parkman. Like these master historians, Fitch stated, Hittell believed "in the old-fashioned way of doing his own research and making his own notes and digests."¹⁴ Surely he believed that using the materials of someone else's private efforts was something less than honorable.

Even if Hittell had asked to use certain manuscripts in Bancroft's possession it is unlikely that he would have received permission. Bancroft was first a businessman. According to his assistant, Henry Oak, he wanted above all to sell his product at a profit. To allow Hittell access to his valuable collection would obviously cost him sales, for perhaps his strongest selling point was the vastness of the resources which went into his history. To permit Hittell



At a picnic on the grass, the venerable T. H. Hittell
relaxes with younger friends.

to peruse these resources would have struck him as giving a competitor free access to his trade secrets. Henry Oak, who perhaps knew Bancroft better than any other man, believed that at no time "had the choice been squarely presented to him, would he have accepted the highest success as an historian at the cost of financial failure."¹⁵

With this thought in mind, the criticism by Josiah Royce that the "two undertakings lack all evidence of that friendly and critical cooperation and rivalry with each other wherein lies the very life of progressive scholarship," cannot be placed on Hittell alone.¹⁶ As earlier noted, Royce implied that the lack of cooperation was the fault of Hittell. This would seem natural to Royce, for he was given free access to the Bancroft Library and felt deeply indebted to Bancroft and his staff. However, the cordiality which Royce received stemmed primarily from the fact that Royce was writing a monograph which would in no way be in competition with Bancroft's histories. Had he been writing competitive volumes, it is unlikely that he would have lavished so much praise on Bancroft and his staff, nor would he have found Bancroft so willing to share his treasures.

Hittell has also been criticized for not consulting Bancroft's *History of California*. "If Mr. Hittell," wrote Royce, "could only have waited awhile . . .

and if he could only have read Mr. Bancroft!"¹⁷ Henry Oak agreed, thinking Hittell quite obstinate in his refusal to consult Bancroft's *Works* in the preparation of his own.¹⁸ The argument has some validity and without question the quality of his first two volumes would have been enhanced by use of the information afforded in Bancroft's histories. It must be remembered, however, that Hittell was writing in the shadow of the great project being compiled on the fifth floor of the Bancroft Building. If he had consulted and used Bancroft's *History of California* it is more than likely that he would have brought on himself the opprobrium of paraphrasing and parroting Bancroft. Like so many later histories, his work might have been simply another work built upon the sturdy foundation of Bancroft's massive work. Considering the nature of historical writing in his day and the circumstances which he faced, his decision to write independently was not unwise. In fact, much of the charm and the value of Hittell's volumes lies in the fact that they present interpretations and conclusions arrived at independently. Hittell's *History of California* is happily one of the few early works in California history free of the pervasive influence of Hubert Howe Bancroft.

For Hittell, the decision to work independently was more than a matter of fear of public belittling of his efforts. His decision was made as much on principle as expediency. He, like many of San Francisco's literary circle, disagreed with the "factory method" of writing history. Hittell was of the opinion that the writing of history should be an individual enterprise. Each page of a historical work should be touched by the historian's own personality and poetical nature. He was truly a romantic, like his hero Carlyle, and the Americans, George Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman.¹⁹

Of course Bancroft defended his methods by stating that his monumental undertaking could not have been completed without the aid of assistants. This is true, but Hittell would have retorted that if this were the case then the work should not have been done. Hittell always admired the fact that Bancroft had accumulated so much material on California history, but he objected to the way it was culled and arranged. His system of writing history in decades was to Hittell "like labeling of statements, throwing them in decade bins, and then unloading the bins, one after the other, very much as a carter unloads bricks."²⁰ Nor did he think highly of Bancroft's employing other men to write his histories and then assuming the credit himself. "It seemed to me," he wrote confidentially to Hunt, "like degrading history, just as his plan of writing up individuals for money is degrading to biography. I suppose that honest historians and fair biographers will still continue to exist; and, if they do, they will not be mistaken by Mr. Bancroft."²¹

This letter to Rockwell Hunt puts into words Hittell's true feelings toward Bancroft's work. A professional historian had asked his opinion, and he had given his frank opinion in confidence. Letters to friends, such as the Santa Barbara judge and attorney Charles Fernald, were not so discreet. In

answer to Fernald's letter, which strongly condemned Bancroft, Hittell had replied in like fashion. He wrote that Bancroft had neither the "knowledge or ability to write anything worthwhile," and henceforth "it is no longer necessary for a historian to have *brains*—all he needs is a lot of low-priced fellows to make extracts from all the books and newspaper articles, buy baskets to hold these extracts after they are made, then [employ] more low-priced writers to draft and write each of the decades—presto! the history is made." Nearly all the history touched by Bancroft had been "dirtied" and "his *Works*, are, like himself, a pretention and a fraud."²²

Other letters concerning Bancroft are more judicious, and his usual ploy in regard to questions regarding a comparison of his work with that of Bancroft was to invite the inquirer to make his own judgment. His work would stand on its own merit. Typical was Hittell's response to a letter from a student asking him for a comparison of his work with other contemporaries. "It would," replied Hittell, "hardly be proper for me to say anything about my work in comparison with that of authors who have written on the same subject, except to say that, with the information within my reach at the time, I did my best to give a full, fair and interesting statement of facts."²³

In answer to another student who requested sources on the California missions, Hittell recommended using both Bancroft's books and his own, adding that Bancroft would give him "a great mass of material" but there were many errors. His own work he described as more compact, and while "there may be some errors, they are not important."²⁴

It must be emphasized again that outside of the derogatory remarks regarding the worth of the Bancroft collection, Hittell never allowed any of his opinions regarding his contemporary historian to be printed. We may now ask what Bancroft thought of Hittell's *History of California*. Was he interested and concerned about Hittell's work and was he willing to share his knowledge and resources in the cause of sound scholarship? The latter question has already been answered by the reference to the priority by Bancroft for business before history and scholarship. But what did he think of Hittell's work? Again we are faced with the before mentioned "conspiracy of silence." Hubert H. Bancroft authored three volumes which to a greater or lesser degree dealt with California historiography and prominent literary figures.²⁵ Within these volumes Theodore Hittell is mentioned once, and that was in regard to his book, *The Adventures of James Capen Adams*.²⁶ In *Essays and Miscellany* the index makes reference to Hittell on page 631, but the page, dealing with jurisprudence in California, does not mention Hittell. One might conjecture that Bancroft purposely edited out whatever was said regarding Hittell, but more than likely the reference was simply an error. In any case Bancroft deals with almost every person who had written anything historical on California and the West, and it is indeed curious that Hittell is never mentioned.

Although Bancroft does not mention Hittell by name, a few paragraphs

in *Literary Industries* tell us of an imaginary historian who is determined to write the history of California. The tale is designed to prepare the reader for an explanation of Bancroft's methods in collecting evidence and writing his *History of California*. The background and methods of this mythical historian are identical to those of Theodore Hittell. Bancroft explains that this ambitious author is at the beginning "wholly ignorant of his subject." He quickly reads some of the general works on California and they in turn lead him to other more specific titles. Soon he has discovered more titles than he ever dreamed existed. "His work," continues Bancroft, "even if he devotes his whole attention to it and resides in San Francisco, has at this stage occupied several years, and the author just begins to realize how very many books have been printed about California." Bancroft continues with an account of this harrassed historian's struggle with foreign sources, his superficial readings, and incomplete use of the newspaper.²⁷

As to primary materials, the historian obtains "a few choice anecdotes and reminiscences," but he has no time to collect the statements of many historical figures. "He is aware of the desirability of original manuscript authorities; he eagerly deciphers a musty document procured by a friend who knows of his investigation." He uses select manuscripts from the missions, and "obtains from Mr. Hopkins, of the United States surveyor-general's office, translations of a few documentary curiosities; tries to flatter himself that he has studied the archives of California, and is a happy man if he escapes being haunted by the four hundred huge folio volumes of manuscripts containing the very essence of the annals he seeks to write, yet which he knows he could not master in fifteen years of hard work." By now, says Bancroft, this man knows he is a failure, that the work he set out to do cannot be accomplished in the allotted time. "Of course he does not feel called upon to make known to the public his comparative failure; on the contrary, he makes the most of his authorities. His notes are brought out and arranged; he has before him the testimony of several good witnesses on most of the prominent points of his subject; he has devoted twenty-five years of industrious research to his work; the book is finished and justly praised." This writer, who we can hardly doubt is Hittell, "failed simply because he attempted the impossible."²⁸

Bancroft then went on to explain his cooperative method of researching and writing, the principal point being that while the lone historian "had two or three witnesses whose testimony he had selected as essential on a certain topic; I have a hundred whose evidence is more or less relevant." From this point the race to write and publish "is well nigh run." "Had he the same data as I," conceded Bancroft, "his results would be superior to mine if he were my superior as a thinker and as a writer." Of course he does not, and the result is an inferior history. Bancroft ended his attack on Hittell and the traditional method of historical scholarship with the following paragraph:

My work at last completed, I have been able to accomplish thoroughly in fifteen years what my friend, quite as zealous, industrious, and able as I, has done superficially in twenty-five years, and what he could not have done as thoroughly as I, in six lifetimes. And yet our respective methods differ after all in degree rather than in kind. I have done scarcely anything that he has not attempted. He has purchased books, studied books, handled newspapers, deciphered manuscripts, and questioned pioneers; I have simply done twenty times as much as he in each of these directions, much more easily and in much less time.²⁹

Whatever the merits of Bancroft's system of composing history, we know that he took more credit for the actual writing of his history than he deserved. Of his seven volume *History of California*, the books with which we are particularly concerned, Bancroft wrote one ninety-eighth.³⁰ Five volumes were written by his prolific assistant, Henry L. Oak, who has ventured some thoughts on both his own work and that of Hittell.³¹ In regard to the Bancroft system he noted the unevenness in literary style, but perhaps more important, he criticized what we might today call "quality control." The emphasis on literary output, so many pages per day, he thought caused an unscrupulous writer whose reputation was not at stake to turn out shoddy work. This emphasis upon quantity rather than quality was one of Oak's most telling criticisms of Bancroft's system.³² On the other hand, Oak echoed Bancroft's censure of Hittell's work, noting that his rival's history (Vols. I & II) cited about seventy authors, while thirteen hundred would be a fair estimate of authorities cited in his own work for the same period.³³

Oak cited as proof of his own competency the reviews in *The Nation*, although neglecting to mention that they were written by his friend, Josiah Royce.³⁴ He felt gratified that the reviewer "pronounces in my favor." He conceded that this did not indicate that he was an abler writer than Hittell, but only "that my resources were vastly superior, and that I was not, at least, so obviously inferior a writer as to seriously mar the value of my work." Henry Oak, however, was an honest and introspective man, and he was willing to concede that Hittell's volumes had their place in California history, particularly in regard to their literary merit. "I agree, to some extent," continued Oak, "with the reviewer in his estimate of Mr. Hittell's book; that with equal labor and resources he might have produced better results than I is very probable; his book is certainly more readable than mine; and that, under the circumstances, he did so well has been a surprise to me, for I know better than the critic some of his limitations in respect to data."³⁵

One eventually must see that a comparison of the works of Hittell and Bancroft transcends the two men and their histories. One realizes that he is not comparing the work of two men alone, but rather the relative attributes of two systems of writing history. Hittell is representative of the traditional view of historical writing. He believed that history should be literature as well as fact and interpretation. Writing history was an art, and like painting,

sculpture, and poetry, it was an individual enterprise. Any cooperative effort was bound to destroy the individuality of the final product, thus making the finished result bland and lacking in unity and purpose. History for Hittell, as with the romantic historians, should give instruction. It should "prove something" and "take us somewhere."³⁶ It should have a theme, some idea to bring the separate parts into a meaningful whole. Again, like so many of the romantic historians, Hittell found his theme in the idea of "progress." Little wonder, for technological progress was all about him, and he had seen his adopted city of San Francisco rise to major stature in a phenomenally brief time. He had almost blind faith that the Anglo-Saxon peoples, and Californians in particular, were destined to have a great future. California's past he saw as clear evidence that there was progress in human affairs as well as in science and technology.

With this particular view of history, Hittell could justify his selective rather than exhaustive methods of research. This is not to say that Hittell was not a careful and accurate scholar, for he was. Bancroft's point, however, was well-taken. It was impossible for Hittell to examine all the evidence. But Hittell believed that he could develop his themes and draw his conclusions from a limited and manageable body of information.

While Hittell is closely allied to the romantic school of history, Bancroft in many ways was one of the pioneers of the "scientific school." He was most confident that his "cooperative method" of writing history was the wave of the future. In part, his certainty in his method seemed to be borne out in fact. On the east coast Justin Winsor brought out his eight volume cooperative effort entitled *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston, 1884-1889). Bancroft was quite critical of Winsor's work. He did not believe that Winsor should have parcelled out the work without having it "recast and made symmetrical by one master mind." He was pleased, nevertheless, that eastern scholars were accepting the idea that comprehensive histories were becoming beyond the power of one man to accomplish.³⁷

But in regard to literary excellence, Justin Winsor's *Narrative History* was no more successful than Bancroft's *Works*. Both histories have been commended for their copious footnotes and extensive bibliographies, but have been lampooned for their narrative chapters. Both works unearthed a great treasure of materials for future historians, but the narratives failed to excite or hold the reader. In the sense of capturing the imagination of the general public these "scientific" attempts to recreate the past were unsuccessful. Yet no historian could judge a work a failure on its popular appeal. Although Bancroft's work has not been read often for pleasure, it is still used extensively by scholars in the field. Like his library, Bancroft's *History of California* is still a springboard for new studies and syntheses in California history. We now know that the critic who remarked that Bancroft's history "is not cast in a form that will live" was absolutely wrong.³⁸

Clearly Hittell's history has proved the superior work in terms of narrative

and literary excellence. On the other hand, Bancroft's seven volumes are more valuable to the scholar, for here are the raw materials of history in great abundance. Both have their place on the shelves of California historians as monuments to individual effort and cooperative effort respectively.

NOTES

1. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California* (7 Vols., San Francisco, 1885-1890).
2. Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (4 Vols., San Francisco, 1885, 1897). Vols. I and II were published in 1885 and Vols. III and IV were published in 1897.
3. *The Nation*, XLIII (July, 1886), 101.
4. For example, see Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History* (New York, 1968), 256.
5. Draft letter from Theodore Hittell to Rockwell Hunt, October 27, 1898, in "Theodore Hittell Papers," MSS, Box I, Bancroft Library, University of California.
6. Bancroft lived in San Francisco from 1852 until his death in 1918; Hittell from 1855 until his death in 1917.
7. Theodore Hittell to Rockwell Hunt, October 27, 1898, in "Theodore Hittell Papers," Box I.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Rockwell D. Hunt, "Hubert Howe Bancroft: His Work and His Methods," Historical Society of Southern California, *Publications*, VIII (1911), 158-173. Also published in Rockwell D. Hunt, *California in the Making* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1953), 212-230.
10. Interview with Elgin Hittell, March 21, 1967.
11. Hittell, *History of California*, IV, 715.
12. *Ibid.*
13. There has been some confusion on this point. John Caughey in *California* (New York, 2nd ed., 1953), 438, states that Hittell, "was accorded many facilities at the Bancroft Library . . ." But in his article, entitled, "California in Third Dimension," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXVIII (May, 1959), 121, Caughey states that Hittell "worked away at his history with never a nod to Bancroft or so much as a visit to the Bancroft collection. . . ." This latter statement is correct. In 1898 Joseph C. Rowell, librarian of the University of California, wrote Hittell asking his opinion of the worth of the Bancroft Library. Hittell responded with some rather negative comments, but admitted the following: "I myself never had anything to do with it or any part of it, never examined or used it, and am therefore not able to give an opinion except as the result of information derived from others." Like some of his other correspondence regarding Bancroft, Hittell asked that "for several reasons, this communication should be regarded as confidential." Theodore Hittell to Joseph C. Rowell, Librarian, University of California, July 18, 1898, in "Joseph C. Rowell Correspondence and Papers," Bancroft Library, University of California.
14. *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 7, 1897.
15. Henry Oak, "Literary Industries" in *A New Light: A Statement on the Authorship of Bancroft's Native Races and History of the Pacific States, with Comments on These Works and the System by Which They Were Written* (San Francisco, 1893), 12.
12. When Oak published this small book he could be counted among Bancroft's

detractors. He was particularly irate regarding Bancroft's claims of authorship. Nonetheless, Oak's work need not be considered as the fanatical ravings of a disillusioned old man. He was highly complimentary to Bancroft on many counts, and was judicious in his criticism.

16. *The Nation*, XLII (March, 1886), 221.

17. *Ibid.*, XLIII (July, 1886), 100.

18. Oak, "Literary Industries" in *a New Light*, 20-21.

19. See Robert W. Righter, "Theodore Henry Hittell: A Biographical Study of a 19th Century California Historian and Intellectual" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1968), 36-39, 205-281.

20. Theodore Hittell to Rockwell Hunt, October 27, 1898, in "Theodore Hittell Papers," Box I.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Charles Fernald to Theodore Hittell, May 27, 1892; Theodore Hittell to Charles Fernald, June 10, 1892, in "Theodore Hittell Papers," Box I. The "Charles Fernald Papers" are held in the Huntington Library, San Marino, and consist of some 8,160 pieces. There are, however, no letters from Hittell in this collection, and one finds little evidence regarding their acquaintance. Like Hittell, Fernald was an expert on Mexican land grants, and no doubt this mutual interest caused them to cross paths on occasion.

23. Theodore Hittell to Miriam Coulter, January 30, 1897, in "Theodore Hittell Papers," Box I.

24. Theodore Hittell to Harry J. Edwards, February 16, 1900, *ibid.*

25. *Essays and Miscellany* (Vol. XXXVIII of *Works*, San Francisco, 1890); *Literary Industries* (Vol. XXXIX of *Works*, San Francisco, 1890); and *Retrospection* (San Francisco, 1912).

26. Bancroft, *Essays and Miscellany*, 606.

27. Bancroft, *Literary Industries*, 594-595.

28. *Ibid.*, 596.

29. *Ibid.*, 598.

30. For more detail on the authorship of Bancroft's *Works* see William A. Morris, "The Origin and Authorship of the Bancroft Pacific States Publications," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, IV (1903), 287-364.

31. Walton Bean, in *California: An Interpretive History* (New York, 1968), is perhaps the first California historian to give Oak full credit. He now lists (pp. 58, 72) Bancroft's *History of California* as: Henry L. Oak, "Bancroft's" *History of California*.

32. Oak, "Literary Industries" in *a New Light*, 49.

33. *Ibid.*, 46.

34. *Ibid.*, 82.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Michael Kraus, *The Writing of American History* (Norman, Okla., 1953), 123.

37. Bancroft, *Literary Industries*, 765-768.

38. Ella Sterling (Cummins) Mighels, *The Story of the Files* (San Francisco, 1893), 170.

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Climatotherapy in California

He 'scapes the best, who, nature to repair,
Draws physic from the fields, in draughts of vital air.

Epistle XIII—JOHN DRYDEN

CLIMATOTHERAPY—the use of prevailing atmospheric phenomena for curative or palliative medical treatment—has only minor significance for the modern clinical physician. Current American medical practice, insofar as it involves climatotherapy at all, generally does so in a negative way. Thus, an allergic patient might be counselled to remove himself from a regional source of allergens, or a sufferer from a respiratory condition advised to leave an area of severe winter cold. Elderly persons are often recommended to take up residence in regions of mild climate. In Europe, however, it would seem that climatotherapy is both more positively and more widely employed, especially by traditional-minded physicians.

In former times, on the other hand, when the therapeutic options available to medical practitioners were more limited, climatotherapy was a widespread medical procedure and commonly was self-prescribed. This was especially true in California during the latter half of the nineteenth century; the real and imagined climatotherapeutic benefits were potent forces that drew large numbers of migrants to the state.

Before considering the details of California climatotherapy, it is appropriate to examine the general background of etiology and therapeutics related to climate. Notions that elements of the physical environment play important roles in disease causation (and by extension, disease treatment) have a very long tradition. Indeed, at least from the time of Hippocrates until acceptance of the germ theory, medical men had been more or less preoccupied with environment-disease relationships.¹ Antique etiological theories attributed a wide range of diseases to environmental influence. In subsequent ages much medical thinking, not only etiologic but also therapeutic, has been concerned with environmental factors outside of man himself.² Many clinical conditions were formerly seen as essentially externally caused, due to the presence of atmospheric toxins, particular ingredients in earth materials, impurities or imbalances in water and food supplies, baleful weather and climatic influences, seismic activity, and other factors exogenous to man,

even including those of a supernatural or a celestial nature. For example, as recently as 1859, in a report on environment and health conditions in California, an author thought fit to chronicle two events that "from the time of Hippocrates to the present day, exercise a great influence in regard to epidemics: we allude to the comet of Donati, and the earthquake of the 26th November (1858)."³

The supposed dominance of environmental pathogenic influences is easily understood. Such theories conformed readily to everyday observation of disease, especially in epidemic form, that occurred at different times and places. The core of this environmental etiology can be observed in the famous beginning passage of Hippocrates' "On Airs, Waters, and Places":

Whoever wishes to investigate medicine properly, should proceed thus: in the first place to consider the seasons of the year, and what effect each of them produces. . . . Then the winds, the hot and the cold, especially such as are common to all countries, and then such as are peculiar to each locality. We must also consider the qualities of the waters. . . . In the same manner, when one comes into a city to which he is a stranger, he ought to consider its situation, how it lies as to the winds and the rising of the sun . . . to the north or to the south, to the rising or to the setting sun . . . the ground, whether it be naked and deficient in water, or wooded and well-watered, and whether it lies in a hollow, confined situation, or is elevated and cold; and the mode in which the inhabitants live, and what are their pursuits. . . .⁴

An essentially Hippocratic perception of environmental interaction in etiology prevailed in the western world until drastically revised in the light of the germ theory of disease. In the United States there was little interest in the germ theory during its development; consequently, the older etiologies remained in the forefront until about the 1880's.⁵

Winslow has summarized the condition of American epidemiology at the beginning of the last century and stated that three main theoretical principles were involved: contagion, miasmata, and the epidemic constitution of the atmosphere.⁶ Although contagionist views had been advanced since ancient times, the contagionist theory of disease was fully accepted for only a few diseases in early nineteenth century America (notably for measles, smallpox, and typhus fever). As Ackerknecht has put it:

. . . in the first half of the nineteenth century, that is shortly before their final and overwhelming victory, the theories of contagion and the *contagium vivum* experienced the deepest depression and devaluation in their long and stormy career, and it was shortly before its disappearance that "anticontagionism" reached its highest peak of elaboration, acceptance, and scientific respectability.⁷

The remaining epidemiological principles, the epidemic constitution and miasmata, were classical heirlooms from Hippocrates and Galen. The epidemic constitution of the atmosphere, involving mysterious influences on public health from such remote factors as celestial events and other obscure, uncomprehended occurrences, declined in popularity as an epidemiological

principle as the nineteenth century advanced. However, variations on this ancient theme were being worked even up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The miasmatic doctrine, and its many variants, asserted that numerous diseases were caused by inhalation of some form of gaseous poison, produced by decay of organic materials and filth, and was very widely accepted.

A glance at the etiological sections in American books and journals of these decades (1850-1880) shows that the old miasmatic and atmospheric theories were still of paramount importance. The familiar explanations recur with monotonous regularity, involving miasmata, epidemic constitution, ozone, poisonous gases, and similar items.⁸

It is pertinent to inquire how the environment was perceived with an essentially environmental interpretation of disease causation. The general division was made, then as now, of the human ambient environment into organic and inorganic sectors. The organic sector included all life forms then known but, of course, included few microbial forms and ascribed no pathogenic significance to them. However, plants and animals were seen as giving rise to substances that could decompose, or partially decompose, and thereby contribute toxins to the air, soil, or ground and surface water, that were capable of producing morbid effects. Refuse and filth of various types were widely considered to be another source of such toxins. Insects were hardly considered elements of the organic environment and never as transmitters of diseases. There was also no awareness of any animal vectors.

At this pre-germ theory period, the inorganic environment was also generally viewed somewhat differently from today. Most of the same major and minor earth materials were, of course, seen as comprising the solid, liquid, and gaseous components of the inorganic environment. Given the prevalent miasmatic view that air and water were the natural media of supposed disease-causing substances, both air and water were considered of primary importance. Of course, we now know that infectious agents reach healthy persons through airborne droplets and via contaminated water. The air, together with other components of the inorganic environment, may also harbor disease-causing insect vectors. However, in the absence of comprehensive understanding of the infecting agencies, the old concern with air and water in terms of supposed toxins of the environment was incorrect. Nineteenth century investigators also attempted to understand the pathogenic role of atmospheric electricity, magnetism, diathermancy, inert atmospheric gases, carbon dioxide, ozone, and other factors now ascribed limited or specialized significance.⁹

In addition, nineteenth century students of environment-disease linkages suspected significant influences on public health from the condition of inorganic earth materials whether damp or dry, free-draining or prone to waterlogging, as well as their mineral composition. Thus, for example, early

in the California gold-rush, many believed that the gold-bearing earth of the state could not give rise to the emanations supposed to cause cholera. Alternatively, others attributed the prevalence of malaria around Sacramento to the gold miners' disturbing the earth and thereby releasing miasmata.¹⁰

It has been pointed out that the study of climate-health relationships, later to be known as medical climatology, was one of the first forms of medical investigation ever conducted in America. Colonial physicians, between 1720 and the 1770's, made studies of the long-postulated relationship between local diseases and environments.¹¹ Such inquiries were outgrowths of the neo-Hippocratic interest in environment, then popular in English medical circles, from whence American medicine at that time drew its inspiration.

According to Cassedy, Cadwallader Colden was probably the first observer in Anglo-America who had meteorological instruments (thermometer and barometer). Colden conducted studies in Philadelphia and New York City and, like other European observers, was struck by the climatic variety of North America. He was also, like other outsiders, impressed with the salubrity of the climatic influences. Thus about 1720 Colden wrote:

The air of the country being always clear, . . . we have few consumptions or diseases of the lungs. . . . People inclined to be consumptive in England, are often perfectly cured by our fine air.¹²

Another very early medical climatological inquiry was conducted by Dr. John Lining in Charleston in 1737. Lining's research goal was to

arrive at some more certain knowledge of the causes of our Epidemic Diseases, which . . . regularly return at these Stated Seasons, . . . and therefore must proceed from some general cause operating uniformly in the returning different Seasons.¹³

It should be noted that the eighteenth century revival of Hippocratic influence in English medicine that inspired these pioneer American studies was partly a result of the translation into English in 1734 of Hippocrates' works. However, Hippocrates' ideas had long been familiar in western Europe and were earlier freely accessible in Latin. Probably more important in reviving classical concern with environmental disease causation was the work of contemporary medical researchers, especially Thomas Sydenham (1624-89), the "English Hippocrates." Sydenham, the founder of modern epidemiology and clinical medicine, placed special emphasis on climatic and seasonal causes of disease.

As a partial result of the Hippocratic revival, during the eighteenth century there was much discussion on both sides of the Atlantic regarding the possible influence of environment, especially from soil and climate, on social and economic conditions in America.¹⁴ While the discussion mainly concerned topics such as national character and social and political organiza-

tion, the influence of environment on public health was also the subject of debate and speculation. All manner of opinions were advanced. Some, like the Comte de Buffon (1707-88), took a negative view of the American habitat and blamed the climate for its limitations, thus:

Here the Earth never saw her surface adorned with these rich crops, which demonstrate her fecundity, and constitute the opulence of polished nations. In this abandoned condition, everything languishes, corrupts and proves abortive. The air, the earth, overloaded with humid and noxious vapours, are unable either to purify themselves, or to profit by the influence of the Sun, who darts in vain his most enlivening rays upon this frigid mass, which is not in a condition to make suitable returns to his ardour. Its powers are limited to the production of moist plants, reptiles, and insects, and can afford nourishment only to cold and feeble animals.¹⁵

Other students of the American environment, like Dr. William Currie (1754-1828) in his extensive and careful book *An Historical Account of the Climates and Diseases of the United States of America . . . Collected Principally from Personal Observation and the Communications of Physicians of Talents and Experience, Residing in the Several States* published in 1792, concluded that America was highly favored and possessed an uniquely healthful climatic endowment.¹⁶ Still others, like the celebrated American physician Benjamin Rush (1745?-1813), declared in 1790 in a rather ambiguous study, that "Perhaps no climate or country is unhealthy, where men acquire from experience, or tradition, the arts of accommodating themselves to it."¹⁷

There thus existed at the end of the eighteenth century a well-established and widely-diverged controversy on the fundamental subject of the relationship between climate and health in America. The need for some resolution of the controversy was obviously desirable and was urged in 1793 by Nicholas Collin in his "Essay on Those Inquiries in Natural Philosophy, Which at Present are Most Beneficial to the United States of America."¹⁸ Collin's paper contained a plea for the development of weather forecasting for health and other reasons. While this was not the first such plea for a systematic investigation of climate and health, it evoked a prompt response and succeeding issues of the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* contained numerous papers dealing with the topic.

During the first part of the nineteenth century, American medical practice was in a parlous condition. The general acceptance of anticontagionist views, and the fruitless preoccupation with miasmata and epidemic constitutions, denied the practicing physician any helpful theoretical basis of therapeutic action. All that were available for doctors were untestable innovations or traditional procedures, many of which were revolting, painful, and even highly dangerous for sick persons. Copious bleeding, for instance, was an extremely common treatment for a great many diseases. Many

doctors also almost routinely administered violent purgatives by way of treatment for numerous conditions. Both practices were declining by 1850 and were largely discontinued after the 1870's. Such "heroic" treatments were often directly or indirectly fatal for the patient. As Shryock observed "no one will ever know just what impact heroic practice had on American vital statistics: therapy was never listed among the causes of death."¹⁹ Quite rightly, early nineteenth century physicians were widely distrusted as ineffective and even positively harmful.

Adding to the public's distrust of doctors in the first part of the last century was the lack of regulation or standards in the medical profession. Almost anybody, with or without medical training, could practice medicine. California was notably lax at this period in regard to professional regulation. "No law regulates the healing arts in the land of gold. The practice of medicine and pharmacy is absolutely free and unlimited, and the first comer can take up either or both."²⁰ Furthermore, doctors, trained and untrained, were divided into a large number of often hostile and competitive factions—allopaths, botanicals, eclectics, faith healers, homeopaths, hydropaths, indianopaths, mesmerists, regulars, Thompsonians, and others. Each had a different therapeutic methodology but shared a common ineffectuality. The popular regard for medicine, both orthodox and unorthodox, sank to unprecedented lows. "One can scarcely conceive of an honorable profession reduced to a lower ebb than that of medicine in the U.S.," wrote one dispirited doctor in 1864.²¹

The thoroughly rational fear and distrust of the ineffective and dangerous medical treatments led to what has been called "medical nihilism" in which healing was largely left to nature.²² But sick people wanted something besides natural healing processes as an alternative to bleeding and purging. Therapeutic demands thus developed which were partly met by a bewildering assortment of fringe medical systems, promising drastic cures and usually by relatively gentle means. During the last century, and into the present, there was intense enthusiasm in America for unorthodox and quack medical practices. Quack medicines and devices that claimed to cure almost every disease also enjoyed great popularity. Faith healing, while hardly new in the nineteenth century, also seems to have been a beneficiary of the discrediting of medical orthodoxy. It is probably not coincidental that Christian Science had its origins in the 1860's.

Both orthodox and unorthodox practitioners catered to the public demand for alternative therapies to bleeding and purging by adoption of climate therapy. Climatotherapy represented a somewhat ambiguous accommodation to "medical nihilism" while exploiting a possibly valuable therapeutic principle. For example, in the case of tuberculosis, climatotherapy was viewed even by skeptics as being no worse than harmless and possibly adding to the patients' comfort. The occasional cures of consumption that were reported were usually attributed to climate or open-air living. In general,

climatotherapy represented a plausible and gentle form of therapy on which the factionalized medical profession could at least partly agree. It might also be noted that dispatch to a remote location for health reasons was also a convenient way by which a doctor could rid himself of troublesome or incurable patients.

A consequence of the developing interest in climatotherapy was the seeking by invalids of treatment in new environments through travel. There is considerable evidence to show that travel-cures were popular early in the last century. Thus, referring to Independence, Missouri, in the 1830's, it was noted that:

... at this "starting point," besides traders and tourists, a number of pale-faced invalids are generally to be met with. The Prairies have, in fact, become very celebrated for their sanative effects—more justly so, no doubt, than the most fashionable watering-places of the North. Most chronic diseases, particularly liver complaints, dyspepsias, and similar affections, are often radically cured; owing, no doubt, to the peculiarities of diet, and the regular exercise incident to prairie life, as well as to the purity of the atmosphere of those elevated unembarrassed regions. As invalid myself, I can answer to the efficacy of the remedy, at least in my own case.²³

By mid-nineteenth century, travel-cures and climatotherapy were increasingly believed to have undeveloped potential. The transition from older therapeutic orthodoxies to the newer and wider use of climatotherapy is illustrated by the remarks of Dr. Daniel Drake (1785-1852). Thus, typifying an awareness of the limitations of even the better orthodox medical science apparent to more honest and reflective physicians, Drake observed in 1850 that,

Every practical physician is aware of the frequent failure of all kinds of medications... and of the great value of cool and fresh air... united with active exercise, simple diet, new scenery, and disuse of all medicine.²⁴

Dr. Drake attached high importance to climate in his etiological thinking, too, and he asserted that climatic influences could be exciting or predisposing causes of a large number of diseases. Drake also averred that climatic changes were able to cure some diseases but prevent the cure of others.²⁵

The influential Dr. Drake was, by 1850, strongly advocating travel to new and more healthful environments for sufferers from a wide array of different diseases. Chronic sufferers from malaria were recommended to seek escape from their torments by "wandering in the desert west of the Mississippi" where malaria was supposed not to be endemic.²⁶ Drake believed too that journeys to the west or southwest would be "radically curative and reinvigorating influences."²⁷ Similar views had been advanced eight years before publication of Drake's monumental *Treatise* by William Wood Gerhard, who noted in 1842 in regard to pulmonary tuberculosis that "nothing is so efficacious as a journey, with its necessary consequences, a

change of air."²⁸ (Even fifty years later, American doctors were still saying the same thing: "the air of any place is better for the patient than that in which he grew ill.")²⁹

Thus the banner of modern climatotherapy was unfurled. The new, or rather refurbished, therapeutics were represented as a gentle, natural mode of treatment, in which the inherent qualities of the geographical environment performed healing unattainable through mere human skills. Such climate cures involved either temporary travel or permanent relocation in an appropriate environment. Accordingly, it became fashionable for doctors to prescribe sea voyages or extensive overland journeys.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, climatotherapeutic refinements were achieved whereby a modified form of climate cure could be obtained even without travel. To this end, numerous appliances were devised that permitted a patient to obtain the supposedly beneficial environmental influences artificially. Thus, usually with some sort of mask or chamber, equipment was devised that would subject a patient temporarily to increased or lowered atmospheric pressure, various degrees of air humidity, and so forth. Some of the more *outré* climatotherapists developed appliances for the artificial generation of electricity, "magnetism," and other mysterious atmospheric factors.³⁰

Climatotherapy thus presented an acceptable, and by no means entirely worthless, mode of treatment to a medical profession in disarray, seeking to replace crude and discredited methods. It was considered particularly helpful in the treatment of tuberculosis, that most tragically widespread and fatal of nineteenth century diseases.³¹ Indeed, for a long time orthodox doctors had little else to offer consumptives but the climate treatment, and this eventually was represented by many physicians as a specific cure. While we now know that no climate is a specific for pulmonary tuberculosis, climatotherapy had certain merit and was surely vastly superior to some of the bizarre treatments to which desperate consumptives submitted themselves. An egregious example of such treatments was reported in a popular California farming magazine in 1880:

Between 200 and 300 men and women of St. Louis drink daily from half to a pint of blood piping hot from the veins of slaughtered cattle. More blood drinking by consumptives and aged persons is done in September and October than during the remainder of the year. The blood of young steers is the best, and should be caught as it comes from the animals, and should be drunk while the foam is still on and the steam rising. Consumptives are advised, in addition to drinking blood, to sit in a slaughterhouse for a couple of hours each day at killing time to inhale the "steam" of the running blood.³²

Great numbers of invalid Americans thus journeyed far and wide in search of climate cures, especially consumptives and patients suffering from various vague conditions such as "general debility." Such health travel was

facilitated by the new means of transportation becoming available and the opening of the West. Some invalids traveled abroad, especially to the Mediterranean area, in search of environmental therapy. But most headed for the South, the Southwest, and California.³³ Indeed, so numerous were the consumptive migrants to California that at one period consideration was given to restricting their entry to the state.

Because of historical circumstances, California did not come to the attention of American medical scientists until relatively late. However, once established in California, Americans quickly developed an interest in the supposed bases of the vaunted "salubrity" that had glamorized the area from the beginning and built California's unique reputation as an area somehow blessed above all others with properties of healthfulness.³⁴ Following lines of inquiry laid down as early as Colonial times, investigation of the climate-health relationships began even before California became part of the Union.

Mounting national interest at this period in the assumed linkages between climate and health, including climatotherapy, also encouraged examination of California's benign but diversified environment which seemed especially promising for comparative study. Thus, Logan observed that, "In California particularly does such a system of investigation possess great interest, more especially than in any other new country, not only on account of its remarkable configuration of surface, and the varieties of climate met with within its area, but also because of the rapid transition stages, transpiring before our eyes, between the rudeness of the first settlements and the more refined conditions of countries long subjected to civilization."³⁵ And similarly, "... no State or country presents greater opportunities for careful investigation of this subject, in its connection with the study of disease, and the various influences which modify the same and constantly keep the physician on the *qui vive* in making his selection of remedies for its successful treatment."³⁶

As elsewhere at this period, investigations of climate-health relationships in California were usually conducted under the rubric of medical climatology and medical topography. A considerable number of such investigations was conducted in the state, mainly between about 1860 and 1900. After the turn of the century, the inherent and drastic limitations of climatotherapy began to be realized and by World War I the subject virtually ceased to be considered.

Medical climatological investigators were generally less than totally objective; that is, the typical investigator seemed to have been motivated to conduct research on medical climatology because of a conviction that climate does have great pathological and therapeutic significance rather than in a spirit of free inquiry. Many claimed open-mindedness on the matter of climate-health interrelations—but usually went on to display their partisanship. Negatively prejudiced investigators, or even negative research findings

were almost non-existent. Medical climatological investigators had a lofty goal: nothing less than a geographical analysis of nearly all disease. The impossibility of attaining this goal hardly needs mention, considering that the etiology of most diseases at that time was either unknown, grossly misunderstood, or at best, only imperfectly comprehended.

Other problems compounded the difficulties of the medical climatologists. The purely climatological side of the investigations was dauntingly complicated. A bewildering array of only partly understood climatic phenomena demanded attention. Furthermore, the climate data were meager in quantity and uneven in quality, as well as most limited in duration and distribution. In addition, on the medical side, there were no complete data available on morbidity and mortality except on a very local basis.³⁷ Thus, lacking adequate etiological knowledge, with only scanty climatic data and vital statistics, the products of medical climatological research were characteristically vague, subjective, ambiguous, and sometimes downright contradictory. Considering the constraints under which the investigators worked, they could hardly have been otherwise. Clinical experience added some substance to the studies, but without understanding of disease-causation, medical climatology was doomed to subjectivity and particularism.

The high interest in medical climatology that was sustained in California for over half a century produced a plethora of materials dealing with the real and imagined health benefits of that state's climate. In addition, climatotherapeutic information must have been very frequently communicated by word of mouth. Much medical climatological material remains in printed form in the medical and paramedical press, official reports, and non-scientific magazines, especially those catering to interests in agriculture and rural life. The climate cure message was even (but perhaps most appropriately) transmitted in works of fiction.³⁸

Writings on the subject of medical climatology in California virtually defy classification and generalization, there being almost as many climatological viewpoints as there were authors. Some common features, however, may be detected. Virtually all agreed that most of California was endowed with a climate that was not only *ipso facto* healthful but also possessed special therapeutic properties. Some negative comments were occasionally expressed about the northern coastal region but on occasion even these were controverted. Thus: "San Francisco has been spoken of as possessing a climate very unfavorable to consumptives, and especially have the high winds and cold fogs of summer been blamed for this evil influence upon chest diseases. Now that we have the record before us, we can make something like a positive denial of such assertions."³⁹

Detailing the elements of salubrity and therapeutic worth that made California the "sanatorium of the world"⁴⁰ was an individualistic exercise.

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By writing the history and present symptoms of your disease, and inclosing one dollar, you will receive a candid opinion as to the probabilities of your regaining your health in this climate; also, information concerning the most comfortable route to take, cost of living and the proper location favorable to the improvement of your special case. * * * *Best of References given.* * * *

From Warner Brothers California Excursion Association—an advertisement in *Southern California; A Semi-Tropic Paradise.*

Of course, practically all repeated the dictum that important linkages existed between environment and disease, with climate probably constituting the controlling factor. The extent of the assumed climatic influence was often quite inclusive and for some even took in mental disorders. For example, "The climate of California is said to aid, in some way, the production of insanity,"⁴¹ and, "It is the peculiar condition of the nervous system, probably produced by the electrical condition of the air, that causes so much insanity in California."⁴² After making obeisance to the Hippocratic idol, the medical climatologist typically discussed a number of climatic elements in terms of the location or disease under consideration. The work of many of these environment-health investigators in California was influenced by Alexander von Humboldt.⁴³ Thus, besides the examination of climatic factors, Humboldt's ideas of the harmony of nature and a Humboldtian cataloging of flora, fauna, geography, geology, population, etc., are evident in many studies.

The examination, or even the mere listing, of climatic elements judged to be significant varied widely, since such judgments were of necessity subjective.⁴⁴ The influential Daniel Drake had defined "climate" in terms of the atmosphere's heat, light, electricity, vapor, fog, mist, cloud, dew, rain, hail, frost, snow, weight, density, winds and gases and mechanical properties.⁴⁵ California medical climatologists generally addressed themselves to a shorter list of factors but even this was quite lengthy. Besides the standard elements of climate such as temperature, humidity, pressure, wind force and direction, and insolation (for which data were most likely to be available), other factors such as ozone, diathermancy, light intensity, electricity, and magnetism (for which few or no data were available) were wistfully considered as possibly significant. Not infrequently, Humboldtian zeal caused medical climatologists to consider such extraneous factors as soil type, water

supply, and even temperament in conjunction with climate. Free-draining soils were generally considered most conducive to good public health; cold, damp soils were regarded as unhealthful. Soft drinking water was almost invariably favored over hard.

All in all, equability and reliability were generally considered the main climatic desiderata. Ideally the climate was supposed to remain permanently close to some assumed optimum. As one writer put it, the "thermal standard of 60°, which experience has proved to be best adapted for either the preservation of health, or for its restoration when impaired."⁴⁶ Further, the perfect climate should combine this temperature with equability of humidity (differences of opinion concerned the appropriate humidity levels), constant or not too variable winds, and a minimum departure from these climatic conditions.

Reasonably systematic and comprehensive medical climatological studies, as opposed to individual generalizations, began in California in the 1850's with the formation of a state medical society.⁴⁷ The constitution of this organization provided for a Committee on Medical Topography, Meteorology, Endemics, and Epidemics, that was required to report annually on "the peculiarity of the soil and climate of the different sections of the State, with the diseases to which they are subject."⁴⁸

Investigative work actually began the same year the committee was established when Dr. Logan, secretary of the California State Medical Society, circularized all physicians and others "interested in the advancement of Science" with the request for ". . . authentic information respecting the topography and climatic characteristics of the several localities or regions in California. . . ." Logan urged the collection of such information on the Hippocratic grounds that as diseases were in part ". . . the effect of causes strictly appertaining to the physical characteristics of the country, it becomes necessary, to an appreciation of their influence, that these be carefully reviewed and synthetically examined."⁴⁹ Dr. Logan advocated the systematic collection of climate data in conformity with standards prescribed by the Agricultural Bureau at Washington, D.C., in connection with the Smithsonian Institution, and appended an example of a form for recording weather information. The weather elements to be observed and recorded consisted of atmospheric pressure (using a barometer), temperature (using a thermometer), air humidity (using a wet and dry bulb psychrometer), and precipitation (preferably using a rain gauge). Logan also urged the recording of observations on "casual phenomena" such as thunderstorms, lightening, meteors, time of early and late frosts, and other items.

First results from the medical society's activities appeared in 1859 under the title "Report on the Medical Topography and Epidemics of California."⁵⁰ Climatology was stressed in Logan's report, actually under the heading of "meteorology," and included much descriptive material outlining such features as temperature regimes, and data on humidity, cloudiness,

winds, precipitation, and barometric pressure. Considerable graphic and tabular data were contained in the report including a graph correlating "Monthly Means of Barometer and monthly Mortality by certain Diseases in 1850 and '52."

Most of the Logan report deals with the epidemics of California in the 1850's insofar as they were supposedly related to factors of the environment. The associative features of disease and environment brought out in the report, such as they are, are all quite subjective and in no way even begin to approach the stated objectives of the investigation:

. . . that a knowledge of the *etiology of diseases* can best be attained by studying the affections of different localities in connection with every condition and circumstance calculated to operate prejudicially or otherwise upon the health of the inhabitants. Such philosophical investigation is particularly useful in tracing the modifications diseases may undergo from the agency of causes of a local or special character; and being also calculated to elucidate the relationship of diseases to climate, to the prevailing geological formations—the fauna, the vegetables, the minerals, the waters, which vary with the earth's crust, wherever man can make his abode, commends itself to the pioneer physicians of our extended territory.⁵¹

If Logan's work fell ludicrously short of its goals, it should be remembered that it was indeed a pioneering effort. What then of the later studies, when data were more abundant and pathological understanding greater? In fact, the later works continued in the same diffuse and subjective vein that characterized the earlier.⁵² To illustrate this, another example may be taken, this time a specific study of Southern California which broadly typifies regional medical climatology. This study, by a Dr. Frank D. Bullard, won a prize from the California State Medical Society and represents the more restrained genre of climatotherapeutic research.⁵³

Bullard's paper started out with the ritual declaration of faith: ". . . in order to understand the disorders to which any region is prone, it is necessary to be acquainted with its meteorology."⁵⁴ However, in order to secure this meteorological understanding, Bullard, in a manner typical of most investigators in his field, attenuated the array of climate factors usually acknowledged or suspected to have etiological significance. In fact, Bullard concerned himself mainly with the conventional ingredients of climate—temperature, humidity, and pressure. His study outlined the main characteristics of the Southern California climate in terms of the rather obvious significance of temperature and humidity for human comfort. Most of Bullard's comments on the relationship between climate and health are either fairly obvious aspects of human physiology and metabolism or simple assertions lacking supporting evidence.

Where Bullard gets into the question of causality he is, of course, at even greater disadvantage, and is merely speculating or at best drawing on empirical knowledge. Thus, what Bullard calls "inflammatory diseases of

the air-passages" are stated to be most prevalent in the damp, cool season. Erysipelas, neuralgia, and rheumatism are designated mainly winter afflictions, exacerbated by "on-shore wet winds." The pains of rheumatic patients are worsened, one may read, by atmospheric pressure changes affecting "nerve-pressure." Renal patients were judged by Dr. Bullard to be favored by the Southern California climate because the "skin is freely active, the greater part of the year, in supplying the copious insensible perspiration which the thirsty air demands." Furthermore, the "equability and evenness of the weather prevent those sudden chills which every now and then in harsher climates throw double eliminative work on these already wearied organs."⁵⁵ Aided as we are by hindsight, it is easy to see how Bullard's point of view colored his interpretations, and it is almost painful to read his prejudiced conclusions. It comes almost as a relief to find the common-sense assertion that the cool Southern California nights favor refreshing sleep and are therefore therapeutically valuable.⁵⁶

Throughout the entire period when medical climatology was in vogue in California, considerable attention was devoted to various forms of regional climatic description. In some cases, especially in the early years, this took the form of climatic data compilation. Generally, such data were supplemented by descriptive material, usually pointing up the more benign features of weather and climate, and adding some more or less intuitive or deductive conclusions based on information provided by local residents, invalids, and physicians. Local patriotism and the rampant boosterism of California led to extravagant and unsupported climatological claims for many localities. The following examples are taken from medical literature:

This whole region [Southern California] enjoys an immunity from any endemic diseases. . . . From my personal observation I can say that at least an extra ten years' lease of life is gained by a removal to this coast from the Eastern States. . . .⁵⁷

. . . persons who come here afflicted with fever and ague, rarely have more than two or three attacks. They soon become well, often even, without the use of anti-periodics. The climate seems sufficient to cure the malady.⁵⁸

The most remarkable fact in regard to this region [Santa Barbara] is the seeming impossibility for epidemics to visit it.⁵⁹

This from a non-medical source:

The facts are that no one can take up a long residence in this county [Los Angeles] . . . who is not immediately relieved, while many pronounce themselves cured.⁶⁰

Some boosters were motivated by self-interest, and many extravagant health claims were therefore made for business reasons, but so pervasive and insistent were the health claims of California that hyperbolic statements on public health conditions often seem to have been made out of misguided optimism rather than cynical deception.

Boosterism seems to have been a general characteristic of medical climatology. Thus, under the entry "Climatic Treatment" in a medical reference work it is noted, "At the recent Congress of Medico-Climatology Auxiliary of the World's Fair, reports were presented from widely separated districts—high, low, island, and seaboard, both within and without the boundaries of the United States—which were so fulsome in praise of each special locality reported on that the listener, without a settled basis of judgment as to preferable climatic attributes, naturally comes to the conclusion that nothing is left to be desired. This is absurd and leads to confusion."⁶¹

Grandiose claims were made for the entire field of climatotherapy. Dr. Frederick I. Knight, in his opening address to the first meeting of the American Climatological Association in 1884, declared that, "Climate is . . . just as potent in working changes in other parts of the economy [the bodily system] as in the domain of the respiratory organs. . . ."⁶² The prediction was even made that in the future climatotherapy would be ". . . reduced to a mathematical certainty, [and] all that will be required to make therapeutical climatology available, will be to turn to the topographical and climatological tables."⁶³ Similar optimistic confidence in climatotherapeutic methods was expressed by Dr. S. Edwin Solly who went so far as to say:

It is hardly too much to say that it is possible to prescribe a climate with as much precision as a drug, and with far greater effect in appropriate cases.⁶⁴

Considering the subjectivity and vagueness that characterized medical climatological writing, and above all, the lack of either therapeutic or investigative results, it is surprising that these studies were in vogue for such a long time. Of course, the germ theory of disease dealt medical climatology a blow from which it never recovered. But the death of this sub-field of medicine was by no means sudden. It coexisted for years with the germ theory.⁶⁵ Adaptations were even made to the principles of Listerism. It was asserted, for example, that at Santa Barbara certain diseases did not occur because "some antiseptic property in the climate has prevented contagion."⁶⁶

The vitality of the climatotherapeutic myth was in part due to its high plausibility. It seemed to explain local conditions of public health as well as many individual cases of disease and cure. This plausibility was reinforced by its long-established place in medical tradition. Persistence of belief in climatic therapeutics may also be attributed to the kind of appeal that medical quackery seems to hold—not that the medical climatologists were quacks, for most probably saw themselves as sincere seekers after an elusive truth. However, medical climatology seemed to have a cultist type of appeal in promising the chimera of health and happiness through an insightful adaptation to natural conditions.

All these were strong appeals, and suggest something of the character of those concerned with medical climatology. Thus, even with appropriate

respect to the honest investigators involved, medical climatology did not seem to engage the best minds.⁶⁷ Typically, the medical climatologists were traditionalists; in a time of drastic change, they were slow to accept innovations. In addition, many of the more fervent medical climatologists were drawn from the laity and lacked scientific training. For example, a layman, C. M. Plumb, designed criteria for appraising health resorts. San Diego met all the requirements.⁶⁸ As the nineteenth century advanced, traditionalist doctors and zealous amateurs were increasingly prominent in medical climatological inquiry, presumably as the progressive medical investigators followed the new research trails revealed by bacteriologists and laboratory experimentation.

The medical climatologists of California were, as we now know, chasing will-o'-the-wisps. True, there were some modest direct and indirect benefits for certain types of invalids in mild, sunny climates such as occur in much of the state. But not even the most favored areas of California were pathogenic vacuums or were capable of working therapeutic miracles. What California actually offered was the possibility of a change of scene and livelihood, and perhaps some physical and psychic benefits that could enhance the *vis medicatrix naturae*. Climate cures did seem to occur, perhaps to be explained through misdiagnosis, psychosomatic factors, or the "natural healing force." On the basis of remarkably little evidence, so much confidence developed that climatotherapy was believed by many to be a specific for some diseases during the heyday of the climate-and-health era in the late nineteenth century.

Climatotherapy is not completely defunct, but retains a limited place in medical treatment. Attempts are still made to systematize climate therapeutics but such efforts belong mainly to the "fringe" categories of medicine.⁶⁹ But during the nineteenth century medical science had little to offer many sick persons and the chance of a climate cure could not be overlooked. The lure of health through climate proved a mirage, but it constituted a significant episode not only in American medicine but also in the settlement of California.

NOTES

1. For a discussion of the Hippocratic influence on medical thought see Genevieve Miller, "Airs, Waters, and Places in History," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, XVII (1962), 129-140.

2. For a discussion of some of these supposed external health factors as related to nineteenth century California see Kenneth Thompson, "Insalubrious California: Perception and Reality," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, LIX (1969), 50-64, and Kenneth Thompson, "Irrigation as a Menace to Health in California," *Geographical Review*, LIX (1969), 195-214.

3. Thomas M. Logan, M.D., *Report on the Medical Topography and Epidemics of California* (Philadelphia, 1859), 12.

4. *The Genuine Works of Hippocrates*, trans. by F. Adams (Baltimore, 1939), 19.

5. P. A. Richmond, "American Attitudes Toward the Germ Theory of Disease

(1860-1880)," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, IX (1954), 428-454.

6. C. E. A. Winslow and others, *The History of American Epidemiology* (St. Louis, 1952), 45.

7. E. H. Ackerknecht, "Anticontagionism Between 1821 and 1867," *The Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XXII (1948), 565.

8. Richmond, "Attitudes Toward the Germ Theory," 428.

9. These etiological attitudes are mirrored in Alexander von Humboldt's 1845 definition that climate "taken in its most general sense, indicates all the changes in the atmosphere which sensibly affect our organs, as temperature, humidity, variations in barometrical pressure, the calm state of the air or the action of opposite winds, the amount of electric tension, the purity of the atmosphere or its admixture with more or less noxious gaseous exhalations, and, finally, the degree of ordinary transparency and clearness of the sky, which is not only important with respect to the increased radiation from the Earth, the organic development of plants, and the ripening of fruits, but also with reference to its influence on the feelings and mental condition of men." Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe* (New York, 1855), I, 317-318.

10. G. W. Groh, *Gold Fever* (New York, 1966), 207-208.

11. James H. Cassedy, "Meteorology and Medicine in Colonial America: Beginnings of the Experimental Approach," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, XXIV (1969), 197-198.

12. Cadwallader Colden, "Account of the Climate and Diseases of New York," *American Medical and Philosophical Register*, I (1810-11), 304-310.

13. John Lining quoted in Joseph I. Waring, *A History of Medicine in South Carolina, 1670-1825* (Charleston, 1964), 256.

14. This subject is well treated in Gilbert Chinard, "Eighteenth Century Theories on America as a Human Habitat," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCI (1947), 27-57.

15. *Ibid.*, 32.

16. William Currie, *An Historical Account of the Climates and Diseases of the United States of America . . . Collected Principally from Personal Observation and the Communications of Physicians of Talents and Experience, Residing in the Several States* (Philadelphia, 1792).

17. Benjamin Rush, *Medical Inquiries and Observations* (Philadelphia, 1794), I, 121.

18. Nicholas Collin, "An Essay on Those Inquiries in Natural Philosophy, Which at Present are Most Beneficial to the United States of North America," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, III (1793), iii-xxvii.

19. R. H. Shryock, *Medicine and Society in America, 1660-1860* (New York, 1960), 112.

20. *A Medical Journey in California by Dr. Pierre Garnier* [first published in 1854], trans. by L. Lay Oliva (Los Angeles, 1967), 64.

21. T. L. Nichols, *Forty Years of American Life, 1821-1861* (reprinted, New York, 1937), 225-227.

22. R. H. Shryock, *Medicine in America* (Baltimore, 1966), 16.

23. Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* [originally published in 1844], ed. Max L. Moorhead (Norman, Okla., 1954), 23.

24. Daniel Drake, *A Systematic Treatise, Historical, Etiological, and Practical, on*

the Principal Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America as They Appear in the Caucasian, African, Indian, and Esquimaux Varieties of its Population (Cincinnati, 1850), 397.

25. See Daniel Drake, "General Etiology," in *A Systematic Treatise*; N. Doetsch, "Daniel Drake's Aetiological Views," *Medical History*, IX (1965), 365-373.

26. Daniel Drake, "General Etiology."

27. *Ibid.*

28. W. W. Gerhard, *Lectures on the Diagnosis, Pathology, and Treatment of Diseases of the Chest* (Philadelphia, 1842), 52.

29. W. A. Edwards, "The Climate of Southern California in Relation to Disease," *The Climatologist* (August, 1891), 6.

30. For an example see A. E. Brune, "The Use of Pneumomatic Apparatus in Chronic Lung Diseases," *Pacific Medical Journal*, XXIII (1880), 97-104.

31. Altitude therapy was for long particularly favored for tuberculosis sufferers. For a discussion of this form of treatment see F. B. Rogers, "The Rise and Decline of the Altitude Therapy of Tuberculosis," *The Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, LXIII (1969), 1-16.

32. *The Pacific Rural Press*, July 31, 1880, 71.

33. The migration of tuberculosis sufferers to the Southwest and to California is very well covered in Billy M. Jones, *Health-Seekers in the Southwest, 1817-1900* (Norman, Okla., 1967), and J. E. Baur, *The Health Seekers of Southern California, 1870-1900* (San Marino, Calif., 1959).

34. Examples of the roseate view of California occur in a popular book published eight years before the Mexican Cession of 1848. California was described as "... blessed with a climate, than which there can be no better in the world; free from all manner of diseases, whether epidemic or endemic, ..." Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Two Years Before the Mast* (New York, 1840), 163. Similarly, in 1845, it was noted that in California "... disease of any kind is very seldom known, in any portion of the country, ..." L. W. Hastings, *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California* (reproduced in facsimile, Princeton, 1932), 85. Again, in 1849, "... there will be no land on earth that can compare with California with respect to its wonderful climate, the excellent health of its inhabitants, ..." J. Praslow, *The State of California: A Medico-Geographical Account*, trans. by F. C. Cordes (San Francisco, 1939), 86.

35. Thomas M. Logan, M.D., *Report on the Medical Topography and Epidemics of California* (Philadelphia, 1859), 1.

36. Washington Ayer, M.D., "Topography and Meteorology," *Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of California* (1880-1881), 41.

37. In California, reasonably complete data did not become available until the present century.

38. An odd example of this was the novel by a San Diego physician and leading propagandist of climatotherapy in Southern California, P. C. Remondino, *Opposite Climates, or The Adventures of John Henry Smith from the Cradle to His Nuptials* (1891), cited in *Southern California Practitioner*, VI (1891), 300.

39. Henry Gibbons, Jr., M.D., "Mortuary Statistics of San Francisco Compared with Other Parts of the World," *Pacific Medical Journal*, I (1867), 74.

40. Thomas M. Logan, M.D., "Report of the Permanent Secretary," *First Biennial Report of the State Board of Health of California for the Year 1870* (Sacramento, 1871), 3.

41. James Murphy, "Thesis on Insanity," *The San Francisco Medical Press*, III (1862), 132.

42. "Editor's Table," *The San Francisco Medical Press*, III (1862), 27.

43. J. B. de C. M. Saunders, "Geography and Geopolitics in California Medicine," *The Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XLI (1967), 299 and *passim*.

44. Illustrative of the multifactorial convolutions into which medical climatology developed is afforded by the relatively late (1913) work by Gordon which implicated the following factors in medical climatological investigation: temperature, wind, rainfall, sunlight, electricity, atmospheric pressure, atmospheric humidity, and atmospheric purity. To this considerable number of factors, all of which are of course capable of varying in time and place, Gordon added eight "topographical" variables: latitude, geographical position, altitude, soil, vegetation, water supply, wind shelter and exposure, and aspect. Further dimensions of complexity were added by Gordon with the inclusion of "other factors sometimes requiring elimination" as follows: race, closeness of intermarriage, sex, age, occupation, density of population, poverty, sanitation, preventive measures against disease, prevalence of other disease connected in any way with the disease in question, and progressive change in prevalence with the lapse of time. These are not only numerous considerations, they are large ones in most instances. By the time that this book was written, medical climatology was almost defunct, a fact which Gordon deplored. As the above listing suggests, medical climatology had become the dinosaur of medical research modes. W. Gordon, M.D., *The Place of Climatology in Medicine* (London, 1913), 5.

45. Drake, *A Systematic Treatise*.

46. C. M. Fenn, "San Diego as a Health Resort," *Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of California* (1878-1879), 121.

47. In the 1850's California doctors tried to reproduce the organizational forms of the medical profession then current in the East by establishing local medical societies. Local societies were set up at first in Sacramento in 1850, then in San Francisco in 1853, and subsequently in other locations. The formation of a statewide medical society, the California State Medical Society, was achieved in 1856. No state medical society existed between 1860 and 1870 because of dissensions associated with the Civil War. See Henry Harris, *California Medical Story* (San Francisco, 1932), *passim*.

48. "Constitution of the Medical Society of the State of California," *Proceedings of the Convention of Medical Society of the State of California* (1856), 23.

49. Thomas M. Logan, M.D., *Circular* (Sacramento, 1856).

50. Logan, *Report on Medical Topography*, 1-58.

51. *Ibid.*, 1.

52. In 1863, during the hiatus in the existence of the California State Medical Society, at the annual meeting of the American Medical Association, Dr. Logan was appointed chairman of a special committee on the medical topography of the Pacific coast thereby providing him with another official position from which to conduct investigations of environment-health relationships. Once again Logan circularized physicians and requested information on local geography, climatology, population, and vital statistics. "Editor's Table," *The San Francisco Medical Press*, V (1864), 82-84.

53. F. D. Bullard, M.D., "Climatology and Diseases of Southern California," *Southern California Practitioner*, V (1890), 201-220.

54. *Ibid.*, 201.

55. *Ibid.*, 211.

56. *Ibid.*, 216.

57. P. C. Remondino, *The Mediterranean Shores of America: Southern California: Its Climatic, Physical, and Meteorological Conditions* (Philadelphia, 1882), 118.

58. M. H. Biggs, "Vital Statistics and Medical Topography of Santa Barbara," *First Biennial Report of the State Board of Health of California for the years 1870 and 1871* (Sacramento, 1871), 76.

59. M. H. Biggs, "Medical Topography of Santa Barbara," *Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of California* (1870-1871), 134.

60. *The Resources of California*, III, No. 4, January 31, 1873.

61. Frank P. Fostre, M.D., ed., *Reference-Book of Practical Therapeutics* (New York, 1896), 260.

62. F. E. Knight, M.D., "Opening Address," *Transactions of the First Annual Meeting of the American Climatological Association held in the City of Washington, D.C. May 3 and 5, 1884* (1884), 2.

63. J. B. Trembly, "Report of the Committee on Medical Topography, Meteorology, Endemics, and Epidemics," *Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal and Western Lancet*, XXIX (1886), 494.

64. S. Edwin Solly, M.D., *A Handbook of Medical Climatology* (Philadelphia and New York, 1897), vii.

65. Thus, "The existence of specific malarial poison (miasmata) is controverted, and epidemics of the severer sort are asserted to be contagious in disregard of climatological conditions by some, while others hold the current climate to be controlling, and the infection to be its incident only." Lorin Blodget, *Climatology of the United States and of the Temperate Latitudes of the North American Continent* (Philadelphia, 1857), 454.

66. Biggs, *Medical Topography of Santa Barbara*, 76.

67. Dr. Thomas M. Logan (1808-1876) was a major figure in early California public health. He was the first secretary of the California State Board of Health and was the first Californian to become president of the American Medical Association. Logan was the first chairman of the Committee on Medical Topography and Epidemics of the California State Medical Society and was one of the leading medical climatologists of California. At his death it was said of Dr. Logan, "The Doctor possessed an exceedingly energetic disposition and a mind characterized more by tact and ready expedients than by depth of thought or profoundness of study." Harris, *California's Medical Story*, 154.

68. San Diego Chamber of Commerce, *Descriptive, Historical, Commercial, Agricultural, and other Important Information Relative to the City of San Diego, California* (San Diego, 1874), 21.

69. Modern examples of medical climatological works include: W. F. Petersen, J. S. Howe, and M. E. Milliken, *The Patient and the Weather* (Ann Arbor, 1935), 4 vols.; W. F. Petersen, *Hippocratic Wisdom* (Springfield, Illinois, 1946); S. Licht, ed., *Medical Climatology* (New Haven, 1964); S. W. Tromp, ed., *Medical Biometeorology* (New York, 1963).

THE SENSE OF THE 'SEVENTIES-

California 100 Years Ago

by Roger Olmsted

IT ALL SEEMS LIKE a Monte Cristo story, but let me tell the young, ambitious reader that there are just as splendid opportunities staring him in the face today just waiting to be taken into camp." Thus the comment of Ashbury Harpending, promoter, of the days one hundred years ago in California. In the two decades before, the state had witnessed two booms capable of making rich any young man of "common sense and intelligent foresight." One boom had been the Gold Rush, which in business and land speculations had compressed development time (and business sense) so much that it had seemed a permanent phenomenon before it had run four years. The second



was the post-Civil War boom, built on California's hard-cash economy, a large demand for goods at prices that stimulated local manufacture—and that shimmering prospect of the Atlantic-to-Pacific railroad that would somehow chuff in with the millenium in tow.





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About a hundred years ago, San Francisco occupied a position of preeminence in population, wealth, and influence relative to the whole state that it had not enjoyed during the Gold Rush years (when the mining counties of the Sierra contained a relatively large and very active population) and that it was to begin to lose toward Southern California with the great land boom of the 1880's. Indeed, not only California but most of the western slope of the continent was a fiefdom of San Francisco's financial princes in 1871. The Comstock was a fiscal suburb of The City, as were most mining regions in the Far West. Not only was money, transport, and merchandising centered at San Francisco, but the very spirit of enterprise radiated from the metropolis. An unlimited prospect of growth stretched before the entrepreneurs of one hundred years ago, and California and San Francisco seemed destined for more than even the gods could grant. Growth and the railroads seemed synonymous in 1871. With the transcontinental railroad—"the work of the age"—complete, there was a grand scramble for franchises to all kinds of unlikely locations, and such grandiose enterprises as bridging San Francisco Bay seemed conceivable. Indeed, the Aerial Steam Navigation Company sought to capitalize itself at a round million dollars in 1869, and its prototype "Avitor" made several brief flights that served at least to show its designer and promoter to be very much ahead of his times.



4



The real impact of the twin streaks of light iron connecting California with the Mississippi was not everywhere beneficial. Local manufactures had before 1869 enjoyed some protection (in the form of high importation costs) as they developed during the 1860's. By the time that Eadweard Muybridge photographed the operatives of the Pacific Rolling Mills—1871—promising local industries were feeling the full weight of competition with cheaper Eastern products shipped west by rail. The spars of sailing ships still stood thick along the Vallejo Street Wharf and other San Francisco piers, but the lean California Clippers would quickly give way to more efficient European carriers, for speed



was no longer at a premium. The transportation revolution in the city took the form of a network of horsecars—a much more important factor in city development than one might think. Meanwhile, Andrew S. Hallidie was working with the transport possibilities of wire rope. . . .



Cutting up the countryside in the name of progress is nothing new, and our forebears attacked hill and hollow with impressive will. Despite primitive machinery, San Franciscans moved perhaps twenty million cubic yards from the hills to the shallows of the bay during the 1850's and '60's. The Broadway cut at Kearney was impressive enough to photograph—but fell far short of the ambition to cut Telegraph Hill (among others) down to the ideal of a sanitary engineer. The "steam Paddy" is seen at the right working near the sugar refinery around Eighth and Harrison. At the upper right is an hydraulic mine in Nevada County—an operation which would count the earth moving in Sacramento and San Francisco a small matter.



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strokes a minute. As this was no work for the merchants who supported the companies, the volunteers were most often the bully-boys of local ward bosses; they did their best work at the polls, seeing to it that drifters voted early and often—and right. They also brawled with rival companies for precedence at conflagrations, earned their livings by no obvious means, and sometimes put out fires. It was downright unromantic to replace these colorful gangs with horse-drawn steam pumpers and paid firemen, but in this case improved engineering technology coincided with social reform.

Eadweard Muybridge, who took many of the photographs on these pages, made rather systematic photographic surveys of many obvious aspects of the San Francisco Bay Area scene just one hundred years ago, but he also looked into some usually obscure corners. At the right is one of a number of views of San Quentin.

The end of an era is symbolized by the volunteers of Sacramento's Neptune Hose Company Number 1, for while volunteer fire departments have persisted down to our own times, these small-town operations are not to be confused with the volunteer companies of San Francisco or Sacramento during the 1850's and '60's.

The urban volunteers of California's golden era were not a response to a need for civic economy, but rather were a necessity of the times and technology. It took at least thirty (and preferably fifty to sixty) enthusiastic toughs to work a hand pump fire engine at up to 120



12



13

With no Confederate raiders to stand off, Alcatraz stood lazy guard over the port of San Francisco. With no more forts to build, contractors with good connections had to look elsewhere for profitable employment. They soon found it in the new City Hall of San Francisco (right). The cornerstone of this gothic edifice was laid amidst great civic celebration on February 22, 1872. Some twenty-five years later the structure was completed—in good time to all but collapse into dust at the first shock of the 1906 earthquake. It developed that substantial quantities of inexpensive materials (not excluding old newspapers) had been thriftily introduced by builders of this spectacularly expensive project.

The Capitol, nearing completion at Sacramento in 1871, was sound, if no more grandiose. Perhaps they built better in Sacramento. One does have the feeling that J. P. Gianelli (right), of the Capital Furniture Company, may have been all of the repair man that he claimed to be.



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Although this view of the wagon freighters at Cisco Grove was made a year or two before the completion of the Central Pacific, in 1871 California was still renowned for its mountain teams, teamsters, and freighting. If legend is half the truth, the exhortations of a California mule-skinner tuning up his team to "get down and scratch" would provoke the envy of a Downeast bucko mate. Freighting to the Washoe mines was the big business just before the railroad, but there were plenty of camps and mines in the Sierra that depended entirely upon wagon freight until they petered out.

It is not recorded that men who drove the ox teams on little redwood tramways such as that at the right were masters of sublime profanity—perhaps because oxen have less exotic tastes than mules. And in the way of exotic tastes, bear in mind that Muybridge not only saw fit to photograph the anatomy instruction at the university's Toland Hall, but that California families bought the views in living stereo!



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A California assembly line: busily bottling in the clear winter sunshine, the proprietors and employees of the Buena Vista winery strike a pose of bucolic industry in one of the few places in America 100 years ago that provided a sure market for their beverage—champagne. The efforts of Col. Harazthy and others had indeed paid off by 1870; California could produce the grapes of France without the vagaries of climate that make for good or poor vintages. Prime consumers of the heady squeezings were still aplenty in San Francisco and the hinterlands, for Gold Rush traditions still held in entertainment. There was yet a Bella Union in San Francisco, in Los Angeles, and goodness knows where else.



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And the dramatic woodcut of a San Francisco melodion worked up for the titillation of *Leslie's Weekly* readers matched reality so closely that you can pick out likely members of the audience in the sporting crowd caught by a photographer.

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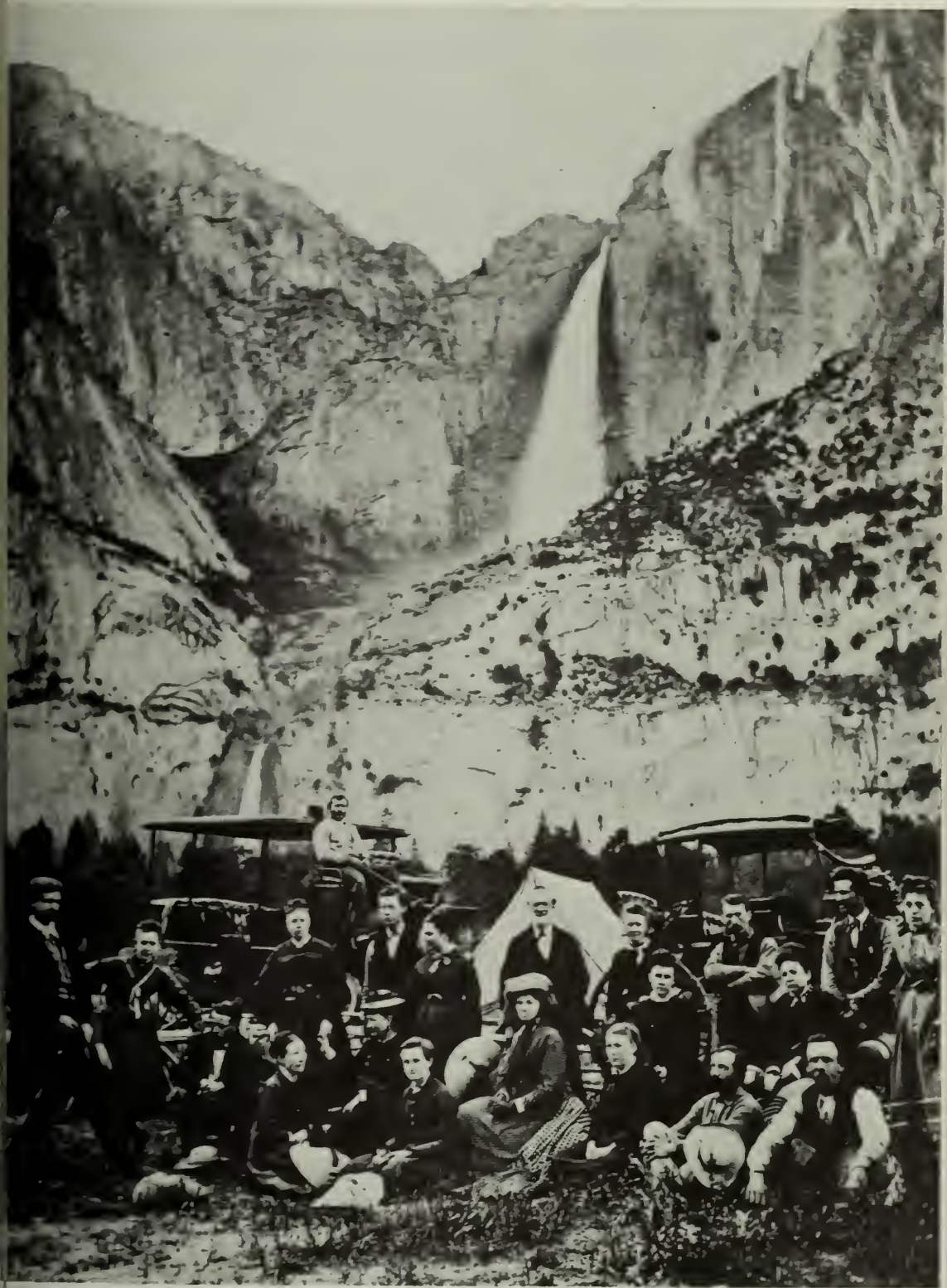


In the early 1870's the native Indian population of California had been reduced to a fragment of its size in the '40's, but the population of the state was still low enough that the Indian was visible. While the Modoc War of 1873 was disastrous to the handful of Modoc Indians, it was also a disaster to the U. S. Army—sufficient to lay to rest the notion that California Indians

were incompetent fighters. A picket station of G.I.'s is seen above, fortunately not overlooking the peaceful encampment of Alfred Bierstadt, landscape painter of the West, at Yosemite.

The Yosemite Park was the first of the great scenic parks of the West, having been declared a state park in 1864. When the Big Oak Flat Road was opened in 1874, a caravan of stages and wagons bearing some five hundred people inaugurated the first genuine tourist rush on the Valley, duplicating in miniature the statewide tourist rush of the 1870's, made possible by the completion of the railroad.







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The civilized entertainment of touring was matched in San Francisco by the Whole Family Park—in the form of the famous Woodward's Gardens. With its animals (stuffed and real), its "rides," its galleries and concerts and special events, Woodward's was a nineteenth century equivalent of Disneyland. Here we have the entrance to the grounds and a peek at one of the special attractions: the eight-foot Chinese, certainly more than a match for the fabled "Missouri giants" of the Gold Rush years.



The gentle sex found exotic recreation a hundred years ago, if one is to believe the reporters of America's illustrated weeklies. We suspect, though, that some artistic license was used in the portrayal of a Chinatown opium den. On the other hand, ladies *did* play billiards in the Leland Stanford mansion at Sacramento.

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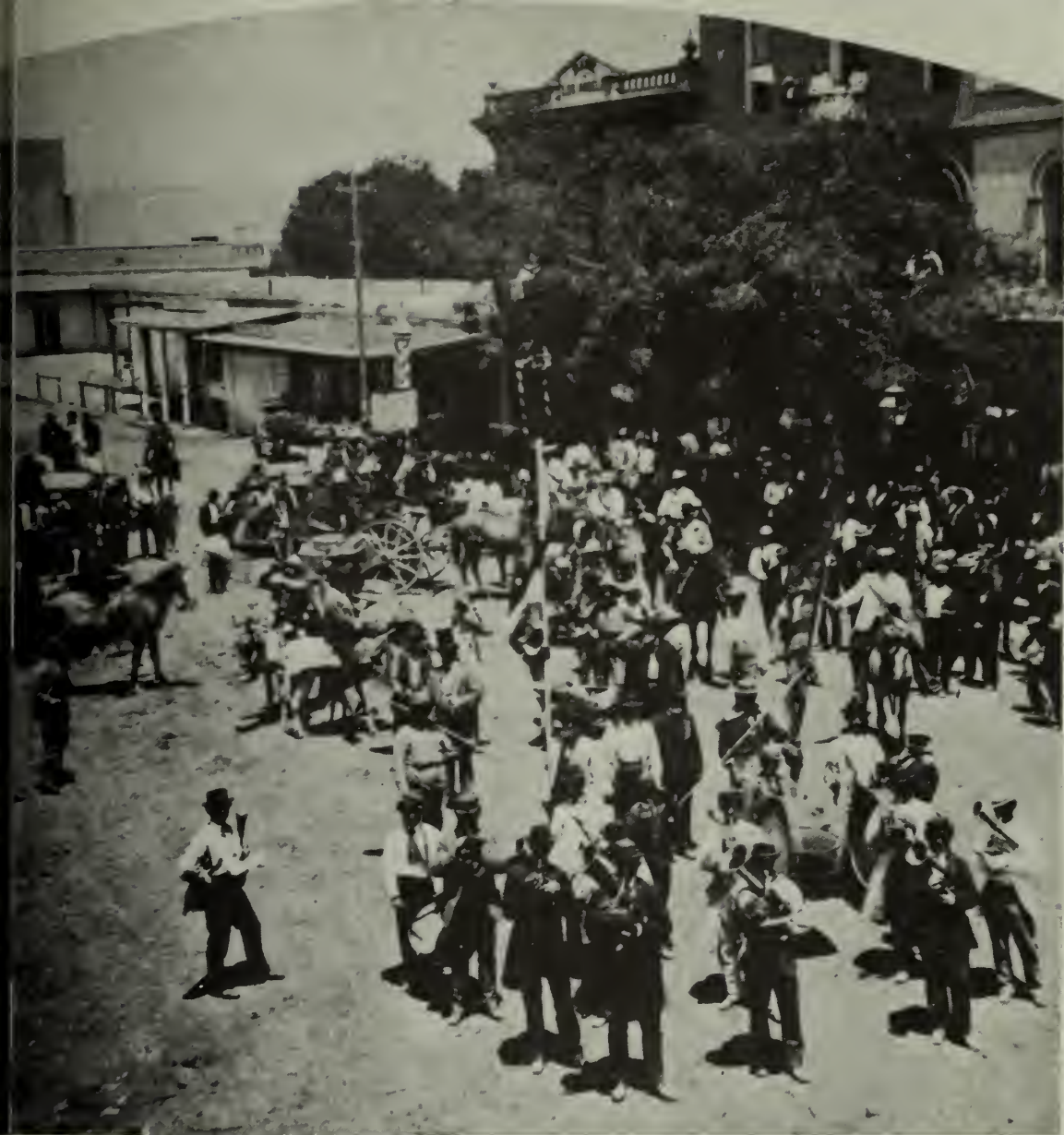


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The private showplace of California in 1871 was William C. Ralston's mansion at Belmont, south of San Francisco. With his partners of the Bank of California "ring," Ralston had systematically skimmed the wealth of the Comstock and poured it into real estate and industry in Northern California. Ralston was at the height of his career just a hundred years ago, a king in San Francisco while the railroad builders were still barons in Sacramento. He raced his magnificent matched teams against the train to Belmont; the great, the fashionable, and the impressionable were entertained in the overwhelming manner of the era at his country seat. Yet the worm was in the apple: the season was turning chill for California industries; frost was settling on the real estate boom; and when the freeze-out came in the Virginia City mines, Ralston's empire would turn out to be a rosy shell.





The parade of the Mexican War veterans, North Main Street, Los Angeles, July 4, 1871. . . . Immigration and irrigation were not many years short of kicking off a boom that in the perspective of a century seems to have been almost continuous. Before the decade was out some of that Comstock silver was to funnel through the pockets of men who spent money in the South, such as John P. Jones and Lucky Baldwin. More importantly, the railroad that brought such mixed blessings to the North carried better news for Southern California exports.



Los Angeles was a town of wide open spaces when this view was made looking toward the intersection of Spring and Main Streets. Aside from bedding, signs advertise printing, "La Bonanza Cash store" (cash paid for produce), sewing machines, and "Mercantile Law & Collecting." The dusty aspect of a Wild West town was not too far from the truth; popular justice in the 1850's summarily disposed of Los Angeles criminals at a rate that made the celebrated



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vigilance committees of San Francisco seem laggard, and as late as the fall of 1871 a mob of bloodthirsty citizens massacred nineteen hapless Chinese in the streets near the Plaza.

In the early '70's South Pasadena was a growing farm community, while far to the west early sun worshipers visited the tent resort at the mouth of Santa Monica Canyon.



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Above is the commercial heart of Los Angeles—Los Angeles Street near the corner of Commercial. At the center is the back of the St. Charles Hotel, which fronted on Main Street (and which appears in the view of the Mexican War veterans parade). At the right is a view redolent of the early 1870's (but taken at a later date)—members of the Coronel family striking a pose at the Avila adobe in Olvera Street.

The panorama below, of Los Angeles at 9:50 a.m. on Thursday, May 13, 1869, was made by Stephen A. Rendall, who advertised his project in advance and sold his prints by subscription. Rendall himself is seen at the center. The view was

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made from Fort Hill, just above the intersection of Temple and Hill Streets. At the left, one is looking northeast, and at the right, a bit west of south. The Plaza, the original center of Los Angeles, is barely visible in the background of the left hand portion of the panorama. The American city grew up to the south and west of this area. The Courthouse and the Temple Block, occupying the gore lots between Spring and Main Streets, are to the right of center. At the time of this photograph the transition between California colonial and Victorian commercial architecture shows very clearly. Flat-roofed adobes of the old era are still seen everywhere—and there are still old pepper trees on Main Street.





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Between 1865 and 1871 San Francisco had changed from a rather raw looking city with some good blocks of buildings into a genuine *urbs*, where three- and four-story buildings set a uniform standard of intense development. This view by Muybridge (from stereo cards, with the segments cropped in just enough so that the panorama has slight gaps) has the development of the city working toward the left, as in the case of the Rendall panorama of Los Angeles. We are looking down California Street, with Ralston's Bank of California in the foreground at the right hand break in the view. Market Street, angling in toward California, is traced by the smokes of the South of Market industrial area. In this wedge the newer business blocks crowded in splendid confusion. From the foot of Broadway the smoke of a departing steamboat drifts across the waterfront.

If the financial basis of all this booming growth was a bit shaky, so was the veritable underpinning. Most of the area you can see in the panorama was filled land, reclaimed from Yerba Buena Cove. When the "big shake" of October 21, 1868, rattled the city, some of the buildings riding on sand above bay mud suffered severe damage. Of course San Franciscans then (as now) could reflect that they had seen the worst. . . .



The old and the new had shown themselves so dramatically in the interval between 1845 and 1870 that the difference between San Francisco and Los Angeles in 1870 or the differences between these places and the modern cities is less spectacular than that giant leap that California made between the Gold Rush and the coming of the railroad age.

That period of wildly forced growth moved faster than the cultural stereotypes of the time could change. In 1871 Charles Nordhoff wrote: "California is to most Eastern people still a land of big beets and pumpkins, of rough miners, of pistols, bowie-knives, abundant fruit, queer wines, high prices—full of discomforts, and abounding in dangers to the peaceful traveler." Yet, he added, "Certainly in no part of the continent is pleasure-traveling so exquisite and unalloyed a pleasure as in California." He may have overstated his case a bit, but it is true that in California one did have to look sharp for much in the way of rustic excitement.

The little Wild West entertainment to be found is illustrated in the woodcut from *The Mining and Scientific Press* of "Vaqueros Lassoing Cattle" at the San Jose fair of the State Agricultural Society. The real excitement in California at the time was ably documented by the English writer, Anthony Trollope: "Everybody is at it. The housemaid of whom I have spoken as earning £70 per annum buys Consolidated Virginia or Ophir stock with that money;—or perhaps she prefers Chollar Potosi, or Best and Belcher, or Yellow Jacket, or Buckeye. She probably

consults some gentleman of her acquaintance and no doubt in 19 cases out of 20 loses her money." Trollope found the sight most worth seeing in San Francisco was the bedlam of the stock exchange. "I thought that the gentlemen employed were going to hit each other between the eyes, and that the apparent quarrels which I saw already demanded the interference of the police. But the uproarious throng were always obedient, after slight delays, to the ringing hammer of the Chairman and as each five minutes' period of internecine combat was brought to an end, I found that a vast number of mining shares had been bought and sold." If we are tempted to think of the late 1860's and the early '70's as a period of calm between the madness of the Gold Rush and the madness of the Southern California land boom of the mid-1880's—then, we are mistaken. The madness of the period a century ago perfectly bridges the gap between gold-grabbing and land-grabbing. It was in 1872 that Ashbury Harpending and William Chapman Ralston latched onto the greatest mine in the history of the world. This was the Discovery Claim somewhere in Wyoming. Here diamonds could be turned up much more easily than truffles in Périgord, with sapphires, rubies, and emeralds to add a dash of color. A \$10,000,000 corporation was organized by the bedazzled Ralston to exploit the incredible find. All of this was no ordinary swindle—this was the Great Diamond Hoax.





41

Why is the King of California and Protector of The Comstock nursing a headache in this outlandish garb?

Ralston, "the man who built San Francisco," indeed commissioned the largest and most splendid hotel in the world. At least \$5,000,000 in real money went into the Palace, a monument so out of the scale of civic need that it was lampooned as having (among other remarkable services) an in-house undertaking service to meet the daily requirements of its multitudinous patrons.

In 1875 the Bank of California collapsed. New men who dealt in harder realities were taking over the Golden State. Ralston took his afternoon swim and did not return.





43

Ralston may have been just a bit mad—but was he wrong? Did Joshua A. Norton, Norton I, Emperor of the United States and Protector of Mexico, in fact rule in California? Norton had once not quite cornered rice, but he came back to reign at the free-lunch saloons. He died with his times, in 1880.

Picture credits: Robert A. Weinstein, of Los Angeles, figures largely in the conception of this work in providing photos of Southern California 100 years ago. The most important single collection of photographs of the exact period is the Eadweard Muybridge set now in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley. Bancroft Library: 2, 4, 7, 9, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 29, 37, 42, 43. California Historical Society: 3, 10, 11, 14, 16, 20, 21, 24, 27, 39, 40, 41. California State Library: 15, 28. Huntington Library: 38. San Francisco Maritime Museum: 5, 6. Robert A. Weinstein: 8, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36. Wells Fargo History Room: 1.

THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS

by PETER A. EVANS



*A Descriptive Bibliography
of California Historical Society Publications
1871-1971*

*with a Foreword by J. S. HOLLIDAY
and a Recollection by CHARLES L. CAMP*



*This bibliography of the works of the
California Historical Society
is respectfully dedicated to the printer and designer
who helped establish standards of excellence—
LAWTON R. KENNEDY*

*The generosity of
EARL C. ADAMS
has made possible the publication of
this Centennial Bibliography*

FOREWORD

IN CELEBRATION OF THE SOCIETY'S CENTENNIAL YEAR, no other gift or effort is more appropriate than publication of this descriptive bibliography. As the CHS founders proclaimed in 1871, and the publications committees in later years have labored to sustain and strengthen, the abiding purpose of the CHS has been to preserve and make available through publication the impressive record of California's history. How successfully that task has been carried forward is here recorded by Peter Evans, CHS Librarian. Here are Olympian names of California scholarship, of men and women widely known and revered, of titles familiar by use or reputation. The CHS was lucky and wise enough to publish them all, thereby creating a proud and important record of contributions to California scholarship.

On the pages that follow are the names of old friends, counselors and teachers, scholars and collectors: Henry Wagner, Charles Camp, Herbert Bolton, Carl Wheat, Oscar Lewis, Dale Morgan, George Stewart, W. W. Robinson, Susanna Dakin, Francis Farquhar, Abraham Nasatir, Aubrey Neasham, George Lyman, Marguerite Wilbur, Irene Paden, Dwight Clarke, Theodore Treutlein, and more—all names that will last as landmarks in California history.

To have published these authors and to have sustained the pace and quality of such a publications program required persevering leadership and generosity of pocketbook and spirit. As it must be with all institutions dedicated to creating and giving, the CHS has been blessed with such leadership and generosity. Following revival of the Society in 1922, the combined talents of Templeton Crocker, Henry Wagner, Charles Camp, and Dorothy Huggins started the publishing program that has continued these past fifty years. The early part of that story is told by Charles Camp in his excellent introduction; in later years, publications committees carried on the work, chaired by such men as Allen L. Chickering, Douglas Watson, Francis Farquhar, Arthur Towne, and George L. Harding (whose other contributions to the Society have extended beyond publications to every aspect of the organization). Now that tradition of editorial leadership is shared by a new publications committee under Robert H. Power, and by Roger R. Olmsted in his position as CHS Director of Publications.

Matching the indispensable quality of leadership, there has been the strength provided by the generosity of men such as Templeton Crocker, who paid the bills in the beginning years, and now most

recently, Earl C. Adams of San Marino—collector of California and western art and history, who has made possible publication of this centennial bibliography. As in the past, the publications of the CHS are today the prime means of bringing California history to our members, through our *Quarterly* (now in its fiftieth year) and our books, with six titles being published during 1971. Thus we begin our second century.

J. S. HOLLIDAY
Director

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE PUBLICATIONS PROGRAM

ONE OF HENRY WAGNER's chief aims and interests when he joined with Templeton Crocker and others in reviving the Historical Society was the encouragement and promotion of a solid program of historical research and publication. This he always regarded as a central aim and objective. One of the first productions, then, of the revitalized Society in 1922 was the *Quarterly*, which so far as I recollect has never since missed an issue, and is now in its fiftieth volume.

Wagner's remarkable insight and organizing ability became evident when he set about collating material and bringing together writers for the new project. His own researches in the Spanish and Mexican archives as well as his book collecting (leading at first to the publication of *The Plains and the Rockies* bibliography) were to serve as foundation material for the *Quarterly*. He had foreseen the interest soon to emerge in the history of the American West. He had sensed the importance and noted the lack of documentation of early Pacific voyages along the West Coast. And he hoped that the Society would devote some attention to these things.

My own interest in Western history was just beginning when the Society was organized. I had first met Mr. Wagner in New York City, shortly before his return to Berkeley in 1922. He had given me some valuable advice on research that I was doing on Kit Carson's dictated manuscript autobiography. Wagner suggested that I work up an article on Kit Carson's California career using the material in the manuscript. He also introduced me to Clinton Peters, son of the biographer of Kit Carson, who had been an army surgeon in New Mexico in the sixties. And finally Mr. Wagner suggested that the article on Carson should be offered to the new historical quarterly, where it finally appeared in the last number of volume I, 1922.

This was the beginning of a long friendship with Henry R. Wagner. And I came to know and respect him during this time in 1922-23 when he was organizing the Historical Society, bringing together its Publication Committee, gathering material for the *Quarterly*, and soliciting funds for publication and other operations of the Society. Membership in the Society was scarcely 300 at that time. Directors came to meetings with their check books handy in order to meet current expenses and deficits. Mr. Crocker had provided quarters in the Wells Fargo Building and had deposited a large part of his library there. He was very generous also in covering deficits.

Mr. Wagner and Robert E. Cowan must have had a good deal to say about the selection of the first Publication Committee. John Henry Nash was put on because, according to report, it was thought he might help out with the printing of the *Quarterly*. I was asked to serve in the fall of 1922. Shortly thereafter Mrs. Helen Throop Purdy was appointed as was my friend Miss Jessie Davies who had been a secretary at the American Museum in New York and had experience in editing publications of that institution and was a capable writer.

During this entire early time and for many years thereafter, Miss Dorothy Huggins (who is today Mrs. George Harding) was engaged as full-time secretary of the Society. She did all the typing of historical articles, sent out notices of meetings and answered the office correspondence and telephone.

While delving into the Bancroft manuscripts I became interested in the transcript of James Clyman's Diary 1844-45 that Napa editor R. T. Montgomery had made for Bancroft. Through the interest of relatives at Napa, I found that the original diary still existed in the hands of Clyman's grandson, Mr. Tallman. Other Clyman material turned up in the Draper Collection at the Wisconsin Historical Society. We put this together into the series of articles which appeared in the *Quarterly* 1925-27.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Marguerite E. Wilbur had made a translation of the journal of a French gold seeker, Ernest de Massey, a copy of which was in the Los Angeles Public Library. I wrote some notes and obtained a map for this account which we published in the *Quarterly* in 1926-27. I then asked Sidney Ehrman, one of the directors of the Society, whether he regarded the Clyman and de Massey accounts valuable enough to be put out in our new special publications series. He said he thought the de Massey would qualify but had some reservations about the Clyman. Nevertheless, he said, "Go ahead and print both of them." When they came out I laid a few copies of each on his desk together with a check for the amount he had advanced. He accepted the books but not the check, saying, "Take this check and start a rotating publication fund. It will serve to help develop our publication program." This was done and in due time a very respectable fund was accumulated. Three hundred thirty copies of the Clyman were printed and three hundred of the de Massey.

When Mr. Wagner left Berkeley late in 1925 to live in Southern California, he resigned from his official connections with the Society, to our utter regret. I stepped in as chairman of the Publication Committee and served for about three years when that office was placed in the capable hands of Carl I. Wheat, a stalwart young San Francisco attorney who had been interested in Western history through his association

with the Society. Carl had found and edited the diary of an early Sacramento politician, Charles De Long. This was published in the *Quarterly*, but unfortunately it was never issued as a special publication.

Meanwhile, Wagner continued to publish his researches in the *Quarterly*. He had made a second trip to Spain in 1923 and had obtained from the Archives of Seville a transcript of Cermeño's voyage to California in 1595, as well as the voyages of Pedro de Unamuno in 1587. These were re-edited and published in Wagner's *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century*, California Historical Society, September, 1929.

I once suggested to Carl Wheat that we should gather material on the Russians in California as a special number of the *Quarterly*. Several original contributions were available, including a thesis on the Russian withdrawal by Clarence John DuFour. Dr. DuFour told me that we could have this if we could induce Professor Bolton to find and release it. The difficulty was that it had to be exhumed from the Professor's office, from beneath a mass of manuscripts, old theses, and the like.

A great deal of this early publishing established the reputation of the Society. Looking back it seems that while much of the work lacked the finish and polish of high scholarship, it did stimulate the great interest that people have taken in our history, and the lessons of that history.

Soon after I began service on the Publication Committee, we contracted with James J. Gillick to do the *Quarterly*, as well as the early special publications. A slightly new style for the *Quarterly* was used, with flexible covers. Later, during Douglas Watson's time I believe, the printing contract was turned over to Lawton Kennedy who has shared with the Society so many of his artistic book-making skills and ideas during the past years.

The Society has had a notable publication record, as perusal of Mr. Evans' list will indicate. It functions in bringing to light the buried history of our land. As pioneers die and records are scattered and destroyed, much of value tends to be lost. We shall strive to preserve what we can of the history of this land of ours that we love so dearly.

CHARLES L. CAMP
Berkeley, California

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
by PETER A. EVANS

FOUNDING OF THE SOCIETY AND EARLY PUBLICATIONS

IT IS EVIDENT that attempts were made to found a state historical society prior to 1871. However, the Historical Society of the State of California, supposedly incorporated in 1852, and the Ethno-Historical Society of 1866 have left no published records of their existence. Their foundings are mentioned in several places and their officers and trustees are named, but to this day neither written record nor work published under the name of either society has been found.

Such is not the case with the society founded at Santa Clara College on June 6, 1871. The first motion passed by the gentlemen who met on that day reads as follows: "Resolved: That we now unite ourselves as the California Historical Society, for the purpose of collecting and bringing to light and publishing, from time to time, all information not generally accessible on the subject of the early colonization and settlement of the west coast of America, and especially Northwestern Mexico, California, and Oregon." That they were successful in this venture is evidenced by two works published in 1874 under the name of the California Historical Society. Publication was achieved largely through the efforts of Joseph A. Donohoe, John T. Doyle, and Father A. Varsi, founding members of the Society in 1871.

These efforts apparently exhausted the energies of the Society, financial and otherwise, and nothing more appeared in print until the reorganization in 1886 under Professor Edward S. Holden, President of the University of California. Between 1886 and 1891, thirty-two papers were read at forty-two meetings, and by 1893 six of these had been printed in four publications of the California Historical Society. Unfortunately, the Society then fell into another period of decline.

In 1902 a temporary merger was effected between the California Historical Society and the California Genealogical Society, resulting in a California Historic-Genealogical Society. Before activity was suspended by the earthquake and fire of 1906, this combined society produced in 1902 one important publication. The Genealogical Society reorganized separately in 1908, while the Historical Society remained dormant. No further publications appeared, therefore, until the revival of the Society by Templeton Crocker and Henry R. Wagner in 1922. Thus, the early publications of the Society are seven in number and span the years from 1874 to 1902.

1. NOTICIAS DE LA NUEVA CALIFORNIA. Escritas por el Rev. Padre Francisco Paloú. San Francisco: Eduardo Bosqui y Cia. 4 vols. [CHS publication]. 1874. Vol. I: xx + 270 p., *illus.*; vol. II: 301 p., *illus.*; vol. III: 315 p., *illus.*; vol. IV: 253 p., *illus.*

The first volume contains an introduction by John T. Doyle describing the work of Father Paloú in the establishment of the Missions in Upper California. The remainder, printed in Spanish, consists of the writings of Father Paloú, largely done at the Mission of San Francisco de Asís between 1776 and 1784. This is a reprint of the writings of the first priest of the Mission at San Francisco, the original work having been printed in Mexico in 1846. The *Noticias* was selected by the Society for its first publication because it concerned "the earliest Spanish settlement of this region, . . . was written at the old Mission of San Francisco, and was undoubtedly the first piece of literary work done here. . . ." Published by the Society in 1874 at the expense of Joseph A. Donohoe, 100 copies were made and were distributed by Mr. Donohoe with his compliments. It was reissued in 1926 by the University of California Press in four volumes, translated and edited by Herbert E. Bolton.

2. REGLAMENTO PARA EL GOBIERNO DE LA PROVINCIA DE CALIFORNIAS. Aprobado por S. M. en Real Orden de 24 de Octubre de 1781. En México: por D. Felipe de Zuñiga y Ontiveros, calle del Espíritu Santo, año de 1784. Santa Clara: Santa Clara College. [CHS publication]. 1874. 68 p.

The second publication of the Society is a reprint of "the earliest written law peculiar to California, of which we have any authentic copy." In the original from which this was taken, there are indications that two provisional regulations may have preceded it and that the copy on which the Society's reprint is based (a printed copy found in the Spanish Archives of the U. S. Surveyor-General in San Francisco) may have been proposed by Governor Felipe de Neve and approved by the Viceroy in 1781. Although published by the Society in 1874, it was not issued until after August of 1875. Of 150 copies printed, all but six were later destroyed in a fire.

3. PAPERS OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I, part I. San Francisco: California Historical Society. 1887. xxxii + 94 p.

These *Papers* contain a list of the officers and members of the Society, a brief history of the Society, its by-laws, and four articles by its members: Martin Kellogg, "The Local Units of History"; Bernard Moses, "Data of Mexican and United States History"; John T. Doyle, "History of the Pious Fund of California"; and William Carey Jones, "The First Phase of the Conquest of California."

4. PAPERS OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I, part II. History of the College of California. By Samuel H. Willey. San Francisco: California Historical Society. 1887. 440 p. *Index*.

The entire volume is devoted to the article by Dr. Willey.

5. IDENTIFICATION OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S ANCHORAGE ON THE COAST OF CALIFORNIA IN THE YEAR 1579. By George Davidson. United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. San Francisco: Bacon & Company. [CHS Publication]. 1890. 58 p. 15 maps.

This is a copy of an address read before the Society on March 12, 1889. Professor Davidson had originally believed that Sir Francis Drake entered San Francisco Bay. In this article he revealed a change in belief, and maintained that "the great circumnavigator anchored in Drake's Bay; . . . there remains not the shadow of a doubt in my mind as to the exact locality." It is a curious coincidence that the Society which Professor Davidson addressed on this occasion played such a significant role in revealing and documenting the discovery of the Plate of Brass some forty-seven years later. (See items 20, 21, and 32 in this bibliography.)

6. GEORGE BANCROFT AND HIS SERVICES TO CALIFORNIA. Memorial Address, Delivered May 12, 1891, before the California Historical Society. By Theodore H. Hittell. San Francisco: California Historical Society. 1893. 20 p.

The address was read before a large audience by Mr. Hittell in accordance with a motion to honor the memory of George Bancroft made at a meeting of the Society on March 10, 1891. Published with the address is a list of the officers of the Historical Society of the State of California (1852) and a similar list for the California Historical Society (1886).

7. CALIFORNIA HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY, PUBLICATION NO. III. San Francisco: Publication Committee of the Society. 1902. 86 p. *Portrait, index.*

This publication contains two articles of an essentially historic nature: "The Spanish Press of California (1833-1844)," by Robert E. Cowan, and "A California Pioneer (José Francisco de Ortega . . .)," by Zoeth S. El-dredge. Although "Publication No. III" is a part of the title, publications numbers I and II appeared before the merger and are the product of the Genealogical Society alone. Publication No. III was printed by the T. C. Russell Company, San Francisco.

THE SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS

THE PURPOSE OF THE SOCIETY is to collect, preserve, and disseminate information relating to the history of California and the West. Its publication program has been a primary means of achieving the third of these goals. Under the guidance of a Publication Committee since 1922, the Society has published a quarterly journal, monthly notes,

broadsides, keepsakes, miscellaneous items, and a series of forty-five special publications.*

These special publications, often but not always reprints from the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, were selected by the Committee for their significance to California history, their scholarly authority, and their style. Although they have varied considerably in size and format, particular care has been taken to achieve a high quality of printing. Maps and illustrations have been abundant. Binding has varied from paper to cloth to deluxe cased editions. Most of the special publications have been issued in limited editions, many of them becoming collector's items shortly after publication.

Several series have developed: California Town Histories, a series on Christmas in California, another growing up around the discovery of Drake's Plate of Brass. Most of the special publications, however, have been selected according to an eclectic pattern, the Publication Committee choosing those items which seemed most significant at the time.

8. THE JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT JOHN MCHENRY HOLLINGSWORTH, of the First New York Volunteers (Stevenson's Regiment), September 1846–August 1849: Being a Recital of the Voyage of the *Susan Drew* to California; the Arrival of the Regiment in 1847; its Military Movements and Adventures During 1847–1848–1849; Incidents of Daily Life, and Adventures of the Author in the Gold Mines. 1923. vii + 61 p. *Frontis*.

Special publication no. 1, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. I, no. 3. Three hundred copies were printed, of which fifty were issued on large paper and specially bound for Templeton Crocker. "The original manuscript of the Hollingsworth Journal . . . was written in a ruled notebook, 6 x 8½ inches, 327 pp., and illustrated with a number of pencil and watercolor sketches of scenes in South America and California."

9. A FRENCHMAN IN THE GOLD RUSH, the Journal of Ernest de Massey, Argonaut of 1849. Translated by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur. 1927. 183 p. *Illus., map*.

Special publication no. 2, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. V, no. 1 and vol. VI, no. 1. Many of the French who came to California in the Gold Rush were from families of means, members of the intellectual rather than the working class. Ernest de Massey was one of these. Although he re-

*Although the California Historical Society was the publisher of items listed under "Early Publications," the imprint on the title page is liable to misinterpretation; hence it is shown. After 1922, however, the imprint on all items (except for miscellany having no imprint) is "San Francisco: California Historical Society." Therefore, only the date of publication will be listed below.

turned to France in 1857, apparently without achieving wealth in the gold fields, his observations of life in California at the time reveal a quick eye and a deft pen. Mrs. Wilbur wrote a short preface for the edition. 250 copies in blue cloth.

10. JAMES CLYMAN, AMERICAN FRONTIERSMAN, 1792-1881: The Adventures of a Trapper and Covered Wagon Emigrant as Told in His Own Reminiscences and Diaries. Edited by Charles L. Camp. 1928. 251 p. *Portraits, maps, index.*

Special publication no. 3, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. IV, nos. 2-4; vol. V, nos. 1-4; vol. VI, no. 1. In the foreword Camp observed, "Clyman's narratives are printed here without change except for the addition of supplementary material. . . . His style is simple and quaint, rich with the lore of the plains and mountains, full of keen, intelligent observation of men and events. . . . Kindliness, good humor, shrewd common sense, innate honesty and cool self-confidence characterize the man. . . . The moving force in his career was an intense love of the freedom of the wilderness. . . . He outlived his times completely." 300 copies in blue cloth.

11. SPANISH VOYAGES TO THE NORTHWEST COAST OF AMERICA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By Henry R. Wagnér. 1929. viii + 571 p. *Maps, facsim., biblio., index.*

Special publication no. 4, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. VI, no. 4; vol. VII, nos. 1-4; vol. VIII, no. 1. This is a scholarly work of major proportions. The preface states that it is the result of a plan "to publish all the information obtainable regarding the voyages of the Spaniards to the Northwest Coast of America down to 1769." The text occupies 274 pages. This is followed by 123 pages of notes; an appendix of 116 pages containing facsimiles of petitions, journals, and logs relative to the voyages; a 6-page "List of Printed Works Cited"; and an index. Maps are inserted throughout. 400 copies were printed by James J. Gillick & Co., Inc., Berkeley, and bound in blue cloth. 25 copies were specially bound, numbered, extra-illustrated, and signed by the author.

12. THE PIONEER MINER AND THE PACK MULE EXPRESS. By Ernest A. Wiltsee. 1931. [x] + 112 p. *Frontis., illus., maps.*

Special publication no. 5. The United States Postal Service has, on some occasions, been accused of certain limitations. These complaints have encouraged the existence of private express companies. In fact, Mr. Wiltsee lists 446 express companies which operated at one time or another in the West. (He provides a second list which shows the areas in which they operated.) This book is particularly concerned with the "relation of these early express companies to the life of the mining regions, and their large share in the early history and progress of the State. . . ." 450 copies bound in blue cloth.

13. THE TOPOGRAPHICAL REPORTS OF LIEUTENANT GEORGE H. DERBY. Introduction and notes by Francis P. Farquhar. 1933. 81 p. *Frontis., illus., map.*

Special publication no. 6, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XI, nos. 2-4. George Horatio Derby was an officer in the United States Army, an engineer, a writer, and a wit. His humorous writings were collected and published in two books, *Phoenixiana* and *The Squibob Papers*, the former gaining considerable popularity. His professional writings are illustrated by the three reports contained in this book; a reconnaissance of the Lower Colorado River; the Sacramento Valley in 1849; and the "Tulares Valley" in 1850. Mr. Farquhar prepared "especially for this volume the sections dealing with Lieutenant Derby's sojourn at San Diego and with his later career." 150 copies, paper wrappers.

14. THE RUSSIANS IN CALIFORNIA. By T. Blok, *et al.* 1933. 88 p. *Illus., maps, biblio.*

Special publication no. 7, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XII, no. 3. This book contains four sections, each by a different writer, plus the bibliography. The first section is a translation of chapter VII of T. Blok's *Brief Geographical-Statistical Description of California* (St. Petersburg: Imperial Navy Printing Office, 1850). There follows "The Russian Settlement at Ross," by E. O. Essig; "Russian Sea-Otter and Seal Hunting on the California Coast, 1803-1841," by Adele Ogden; and "The Russian Withdrawal from California," by Clarence John DuFour. The "Bibliography Relating to the Russians in California" contains 120 entries. 400 copies, red cloth and paper wrappers.

15. THE INSIDE STORY OF THE GOLD RUSH. By Jacques Antoine Moerenhout, Consul of France at Monterey. Translated and edited from documents in the French Archives by Abraham P. Nasatir, in collaboration with George Ezra Dane, who wrote the introduction and conclusion. 1935. ix + 94 p. *Frontis., illus., map.*

Special publication no. 8, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XIII, nos. 1-4. "The Forty-niners were almost as well supplied with pen and ink as with picks and pans, and the accounts they left of their hopes, hardships and disillusionments have kept the presses going ever since. But reliable contemporary accounts of the local rush of '48 . . . are surprisingly few, and of those few Moerenhout's recital is doubtless the most complete that we possess." Illustrations and a fine set of notes add to the value of this book. Printed by Lawton Kennedy, San Francisco. 200 copies.

16. ANNALS OF LOS ANGELES, From the Arrival of the First White Men to the Civil War, 1769-1861. By J. Gregg Layne. 1935. 97 p. *Illus.*

Special publication no. 9, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XIII, nos. 3 and 4. The author's purpose is to tell the story of the founding and growth

of Los Angeles. Military activities associated with the American conquest are treated only briefly since they have been the subject of so much writing elsewhere. Mr. Layne concentrates on "side-lights of interest [in] local history." Printed by Lawton Kennedy, San Francisco, this is the first in a series dealing with the history of early California towns. 200 copies.

17. INDEX TO THE ANNALS OF SAN FRANCISCO. Compiled by Charles Francis Griffin. Foreword by Douglas S. Watson. 1935. 22 p.

Special publication no. 10. *The Annals of San Francisco*, by Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, was published by D. Appleton & Company in 1855. This book of 824 pages contains a summary of the history of California, "a complete history of all important events connected with its great city," and biographical memoirs of prominent citizens. An index to *The Annals* was first published in a limited mimeograph edition by Dr. Joseph Gaer on a SERA project. Initially unaware of Dr. Gaer's work, Dr. Charles F. Griffin had undertaken a similar project. When the overlap was discovered, Dr. Griffin utilized the Gaer Index, made additions, and thereby sought to publish an index "as nearly complete as it is possible to make." The result, printed by Lawton R. Kennedy, is the Society's tenth special publication. 200 copies.

18. THE STORY OF SAN JOSE, 1777-1869, California's First Pueblo. By Oscar Osburn Winther. Introduction by Douglas S. Watson. 1935. ii + 54 p. *Frontis., illus.*

Special publication no. 11, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XIV, nos. 1 and 2. This is number two in the histories of early California towns. The intent of this series was to focus on the local events which provided the individual "personalities" of towns. The broader role of the community in the overall history of the State was set aside for another time. This book, then, is a "town biography" of California's first pueblo. Printed by Lawton R. Kennedy. 150 copies.

19. THE BEGINNINGS OF MARYSVILLE. By Earl Ramey. Foreword by Douglas S. Watson. 1936. [vii] + 105 p. *Frontis., illus., maps.*

Special publication no. 12, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XIV, nos. 3 and 4. This is the third and, unfortunately, last in the series on early California towns. Five more had been proposed—Sacramento, San Diego, Sonoma, Stockton, and Monterey—but they have yet to appear. In contrast to the other towns in the published series, Los Angeles and San Jose, Marysville was from its beginning a typical American town. Although settlement occurred at the junction of the Feather and Yuba rivers prior to the discovery of gold, the actual birth of the community is traced to the Gold Rush and the town's location at the end of the river route to the northern mines. Printed by Lawton R. Kennedy. 200 copies.

20. DRAKE'S PLATE OF BRASS, EVIDENCE OF HIS VISIT TO CALIFORNIA IN 1579. By Herbert E. Bolton, *et al.* 1937. 64 p. *Frontis., plates, maps.*

Special publication no. 13, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XVI, no. 1. This book contains five sections; pagination covers only the first four (57 pp.), although the Table of Contents lists the fifth section, "Aims and Purposes of California Historical Society" (plus a list of officers and members) as beginning on page 59. The main body of the text opens with a paper by Herbert E. Bolton, "Francis Drake's Plate of Brass," an address read before the California Historical Society on April 6, 1937, to announce the discovery of the Drake Plate. This is followed by Douglas S. Watson's "Drake and California," "Excerpts from Earliest Sources," and a "Bibliography" of 100 works relating to Sir Francis Drake compiled by Eleanor Bancroft. Printed by Lawton R. Kennedy; typography by Harold N. Seeger.

21. DRAKE'S PLATE OF BRASS AUTHENTICATED, the Report on the Plate of Brass. By Colin G. Fink and E. P. Polushkin. Foreword by Allen L. Chickering, and Biographical Note on Professor Fink by Joel H. Hildebrand. 1938. 28 p. *Plates.*

Special publication no. 14, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XVII, no. 4. A sequel to special publication no. 13, this is an authoritative study of the Drake Plate by professionals fully competent to determine its authenticity. The work involves a detailed electrochemical analysis of the plate. Forty-nine photographs following page 28 present a visual approach to the analysis. Professor Fink and Mr. Polushkin conclude that "the brass plate examined by us is the genuine Drake Plate referred to in the book, *The World Encompassed by Sr Francis Drake*, published in 1628." Printed by Lawton R. Kennedy, typography by Harold N. Seeger.

22. CONTINUATION OF THE ANNALS OF SAN FRANCISCO, Part I, from June 1, 1854, to December 31, 1855. Compiled by Dorothy H. Huggins from the files of contemporary magazines and newspapers. Introduction by Douglas S. Watson. 1939. 124 p. *Frontis., illus., index.*

Special publication no. 15, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XV, nos. 1-4; vol. XVI, nos. 1-4; vol. XVII, nos. 1 and 2. Dorothy Huggins takes up where Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet left off. (See item no. 17 in this bibliography.) Her sources are the "tabulations of events which appeared in the *Pioneer* in 1854-1855, supplemented by research in the files of both the *Alta California* and the *Daily Evening Bulletin*." Thus her work provides a summary of and index to many of the significant events of the middle 1850's. Printed by Lawton R. Kennedy, San Francisco. 300 copies.

23. CHAPTERS IN THE EARLY LIFE OF THOMAS OLIVER LARKIN, Including His Experiences in the Carolinas and Building of the Larkin House at Monterey; from his Original Manuscripts. Edited and with an introduction and notes by Robert J. Parker. Foreword by Herbert Eugene Bolton. 1939. vii + 77 p. *Frontis., illus., map.*

Special publication no. 16, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XVI, nos. 1-4. "Thomas Oliver Larkin was one of the few outstanding Americans in the history of California prior to the American conquest and occupation." The experiences which develop such an influential personality are significant, and a major portion of this book is an autobiographical account of such experiences. One chapter, "Building the Larkin House," is a detailed study of the building of an early California adobe. The house has become a landmark. 200 copies.

24. JUAN RODRÍGUEZ CABRILLO, Discoverer of the Coast of California. By Henry R. Wagner. 1941. 94 p. *Frontis.*

Special publication no. 17, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. VII, no. 1, plus added material. Cabrillo, first to explore the coast of California, entered San Diego Bay in September, 1542, then examined the coast at least as far north as Point Reyes. This book contains a summary of his journal plus notes. Printed by Lawton R. Kennedy, typography by Harold N. Seeger, with decorations by Robert Windrem, and initials by Fred Glauser. 750 copies.

25. A DOCTOR COMES TO CALIFORNIA, the Diary of John S. Griffin, Assistant Surgeon with Kearny's Dragoons, 1846-1847. Introduction and notes by George Walcott Ames, Jr., and a foreword by George D. Lyman. 1943. 97 p. *Frontis., maps.*

Special publication no. 18, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XXI, nos. 3 and 4; vol. XXII, no. 1. The diary is significant for two reasons: first, descriptions of a journey to California via a Southwest trail are comparatively rare; second, this is one of only two complete diaries of Kearny's march from Santa Fé to San Diego. Dr. Griffin is important not only as a medical man who became known and respected throughout the state, but as an important figure in the development of Los Angeles, where he died in 1898 at the age of eighty-two.

26. FUR BRIGADE TO THE BONAVENTURA, John Work's California Expedition, 1832-1833, for the Hudson's Bay Company. Edited by Alice Bay Maloney from the original manuscript journal in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, with a foreword by Herbert Eugene Bolton, and a hitherto unpublished letter of John Work from the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company. 1945. xxii + 112 p. *Frontis., photos, map, biblio., index.*

Special publication no. 19, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XXII, nos. 2-4; vol. XXIII, nos. 1 and 2, with the addition of a foreword and appendix D. With Pacific Coast headquarters at Fort Vancouver, Hudson's Bay Company sent expeditions of trappers into what is now northern California for a period of about twenty years. Much has been written about Jedediah Smith, J. J. Warner, and other American trappers, "but it is probably true that in the period indicated the employes of Hudson's Bay Company, coming from the north, took from California more beaver skins and other peltry than all the American fur gatherers combined." This book contains the journal of one of these expeditions. Printed by Lawton & Alfred Kennedy at The Westgate Press in Oakland. 500 copies.

27. MAP OF THE EMIGRANT ROAD, from Independence, Mo., to St. Francisco, California. By T. H. Jefferson. Introduction and notes by George R. Stewart. 1945. xi + 25 p. *Maps*.

Special publication no. 20. T. H. Jefferson crossed the plains and arrived in California with Lansford W. Hastings' party in 1846. His map, published in New York in 1849, with an "Accompaniment" which described the route, provided instructions regarding necessary equipment, food, etc., was one of the most reliable used by the 49'ers. 300 copies printed by Lawton & Alfred Kennedy at the Westgate Press in Oakland. The maps are reproduced on all-rag, opaque manifold paper and inserted in a pocket at the back of the book.

28. CALIFORNIA GOLD DISCOVERY, Centennial Papers on the Time, the Site and Artifacts. By Aubrey Neasham, *et al.* 1947. 56 p. *Frontis., illus.*

Special publication no. 21, reprinted from the *Quarterly*, vol. XXVI, no. 2. This book contains an Introduction by Joseph R. Knowland and three papers concerning the discovery of gold in California: Aubrey Neasham, "Sutter's Sawmill"; Robert F. Heizer, "Archaeological Investigation of Sutter Sawmill Site in 1947"; and Franklin Fenenga, "Artifacts from the Excavation of Sutter Sawmill, 1947." Printed by Westgate Press, Oakland; title vignette by Lowell Hecking.

29. LANCES AT SAN PASCUAL. By Arthur Woodward. 1948. 84 p. *Frontis., illus.*

Special publication no. 22, reprinted, with additions, from the *Quarterly*, vol. XXV, no. 4; vol. XXVI, no. 1. A retelling of the encounter between the Californios under General Andrés Pico and the Dragoons of Stephen Watts Kearny's "Army of the West." Appendices provide official lists of many of the men involved on both sides. Printed by Westgate Press, Oakland; title decorations by Lowell Hecking.

30. THE JOURNAL OF MADISON BERRYMAN MOORMAN, 1850-1851. Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by Irene D. Paden, together with a biographical sketch of the author by his granddaughter, Louise Parks Banes. 1948. ix + 150 p. *Frontis., map, biblio., index.*

Special publication no. 23. This is "one of the few diaries kept while traveling Hastings Cut-off." Moorman was both observant and articulate. By using his diary in 1946, almost one hundred years after it was written, the editor was able to trace the route of the Hastings Cut-off. Printed by Westgate Press, Oakland.

31. BEAR FLAG LIEUTENANT, The Life Story of Henry L. Ford [1822-1860], Together with Some Reproductions of Related and Contemporary Paintings by Alexander Edouart. By Fred B. Rogers. 1951. 87 p. *Frontis., plates, index.*

Special publication no. 24, reprinted with some changes and additions from the *Quarterly*, vol. XXIX, nos. 2-4; vol. XXX, nos. 1 and 2. The grizzly bear, "so respected as a fighter by Americans and Californians alike," appears on the state flag as a result, it is said, of a suggestion from Henry L. Ford, a pioneer of northern California, an Indian agent, and at one time a lieutenant in the Bear Flag Revolt. 250 copies of this book were printed at the Westgate Press in Oakland.

32. THE PLATE OF BRASS, Evidence of the Visit of Francis Drake to California in the Year 1579. By Herbert E. Bolton, *et al.* 1953. vi + 102 p. *Frontis., plates, map, biblio.*

Special publication no. 25, reprinted, with added material, from the *Quarterly*, vol. XVI, no. 1; vol. XVII, no. 4. This is a re-issue under one cover of special publications 13 and 14. To the original material has been added a preface by Allen L. Chickering and Robert F. Heizer which summarizes information gathered since the first publications. Printed by Lawton Kennedy.

33. JEDEDIAH SMITH AND HIS MAPS OF THE AMERICAN WEST. By Dale L. Morgan and Carl I. Wheat. Introduction by Carl I. Wheat. 1954. 86 p. *Maps.*

Special publication no. 26. Measuring 11 x 17 inches, this book is a scholarly study of a complex subject and a fine example of excellence in printing. The title may be somewhat misleading, since to date, "no original Jedediah Smith map has been found, despite long and assiduous search by numerous investigators. Fire is said to have destroyed Smith's personal papers. . . ." However, it is apparent that the "early West's greatest single explorer" did produce several maps which were used by other map makers. This study examines the influence of Smith on the exploration and mapping of the West. Four maps are inserted within the text. Three are placed in a pocket on the inside back cover. 530 copies were printed by Lawton R. Kennedy in San Francisco. Map lithography by Charles R. Wood and Associates.

34. CHRISTMAS IN CALIFORNIA: Part One, Christmas at Sutter's Fort in 1847, by John Bonner; Part Two, Christmas Before the Americans Came, by José Ramón Pico. [1956] 37 p. *Illus.*

[Special publication no. 27.] This is the first of a series dealing with Christmas in California. 1000 copies were designed and printed by Lawton Kennedy.

35. PORT ADMIRAL: PHINEAS BANNING, 1830-1885. By Maymie Krythe. Introduction by W. W. Robinson. 1957. xv + 251 p. *Illus., photos, biblio., index.*

Special publication no. 28. In 1851, Phineas Banning arrived in San Pedro at the age of twenty-one. When he died in 1885 his reputation was established as a major figure in the development of the state. His role in the building of the Port of Los Angeles is the basis for the book's title. 1000 copies printed by Anderson, Ritchie & Simon: The Ward Ritchie Press, Los Angeles.

36. CHRISTMAS AT RANCHO LOS ALAMITOS. By Katharine Bixby Hotchkis. Foreword by Susanna Bryant Dakin. 1957. 28 p. *Illus.*

[Special publication no. 29.] This is the second in the series describing Christmas in California. Illustrations are by Clement Hurd. 1000 copies printed by Lawton Kennedy.

37. FABULOUS SAN SIMEON, A History of the Hearst Castle, a California State Monument located on the scenic coast of California, together with a Guide to the Treasures on Display. By Oscar Lewis. Photographs by Philip Negus Frasse. [1958] 86 p.

[Special publication no. 30.] *Fabulous San Simeon* is an illustrated descriptive guide to the Hearst Castle. Paper bound edition. Designed by Lawton Kennedy; lithographed by Hooper Printing & Lithograph Co.; drawings by Mallette Dean. Distributor: Lane Book Company as of April, 1963.

38. NAVIDAD, A Christmas Day with the Early Californians, by Don Arturo Bandini; PASTORELA, A Shepherd's Play, translated, with a note, by Gwladys Louise Williams. [1958] 51 p. *Frontis., illus.*

[Special publication no. 31.] Third in the series describing Christmas in California, *Navidad*, a gentle, nostalgic vignette, was originally published in the *Californian Illustrated* of December, 1892. *Pastorela*, a combination of three shepherds' plays, is an example of the communal Christmas program as celebrated in early Spanish California. Editor's note by Susanna Bryant Dakin. Designed and printed by Lawton Kennedy; illustrated by Clement Hurd.

39. LOS ANGELES, FROM THE DAYS OF THE PUEBLO, Together with a Guide to the Historic Old Plaza Area, Including the Pueblo de Los Angeles State Historical Monument. By W. W. Robinson. 1959. 97 p. *Illus., map.*

[Special publication no. 32.] Published in both paper and cloth bound editions, this is an illustrated guide to one of the State's historical monuments. Photographs and illustrations are from many sources. Designed by Lawton Kennedy; lithographed by Hooper Printing & Lithograph Company. Distributor: Lane Publishing Company as of April, 1963.

40. CHRISTMAS IN THE GOLD FIELDS, 1849, the Reminiscences of Joseph J. McCloskey and Hermann J. Sharmann, with Illustrations Taken from Contemporary Letter Sheets. 1959. 35 p. *Illus.*

[Special publication no. 33.] These reminiscences are based on personal interviews which were printed in the San Francisco *Call* on December 19, 1909. The illustrations are from the Society's collection of lithographed letter sheets. Designed and printed by Lawton Kennedy. Distributor: Lane Publishing Company.

41. DONNER PASS AND THOSE WHO CROSSED IT, the Story of the Country Made Notable by the Stevens Party, the Donner Party, the Goldhunters, and the Railroad Builders; with Old and New Illustrations showing the Pass in Summer and Winter. By George R. Stewart. 1960. 96 p. *Illus., map.*

[Special publication no. 34.] This is the third in a series of illustrated guides to prominent California landmarks. Illustrations are from many sources. Published in paper and cloth bound editions, this book was designed by Lawton Kennedy and lithographed by Hooper Printing & Lithograph Company. Distributor: Lane Publishing Company.

42. PORTALS WEST, a Folio of Late Nineteenth Century Architecture in California. By E. Geoffrey Bangs. Preface by Robert Gordon Sproul. 1960. 86 p. 36 *plates.*

Special publication no. 35. *Portals West* illustrates and describes architecture as represented in northern California in the second half of the Nineteenth Century. 1000 copies were printed by H. S. Crocker Co., Inc., San Francisco. Distributor: Lane Book Company.

43. TIME'S WONDROUS CHANGES, SAN FRANCISCO ARCHITECTURE, 1776-1915. By Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr. Foreword by Susanna Bryant Dakin. 1962. [x] + 67 p. 44 *plates, biblio., map, index.*

Special publication no. 36. Imperus for this publication was the conference of the National Trust for Historic Preservation held in San Francisco in 1962. The text by Dr. Baird reveals four periods of influence on San Francisco architecture. 1000 copies designed and printed by Lawton Kennedy.

44. A KEMBLE READER, Stories of California, 1846-1848. By Edward Cleveland Kemble, early California journalist. Edited by Fred Blackburn Rogers. 1963. xiii + 168 p. *Frontis., illus., biblio., index.*

Special publication no. 37. Kemble was associated either as editor or proprietor with the most important early newspapers in the state, the *California Star*, the *California Star and Californian*, the *Alta California*, and the *Placer Times*. This is a sample of his writings concerning aspects of early California history. Designed and printed in an edition of 1000 copies by Howell-North Press, Berkeley. Distributor: Lane Book Company.

45. EL TRIUNFO DE LA CRUZ, the First Ship Built in the Californias. By Theodore H. Hittell. [1963] 15 p.

Special publication no. 38. This is a reprint of an essay which first appeared in *The Californian* of January, 1880. Printed by Roger Levenson at the Tamalpais Press, Berkeley. Distributor: Lane Book Company.

46. THE CALIFORNIA DIARY OF FAXON DEAN ATHERTON, 1836-1839. Edited, with an Introduction, by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. 1964. xxxii + 246 p. *Frontis., illus., map, biblio., index.*

Special publication no. 39. The town of Atherton is named for Faxon Dean Atherton, a man of business. "He had the dreamer's eye; the realist's wisdom." He also had the ability to write a terse, fast-moving diary. Printed in Los Angeles at the Ward Ritchie Press, 325 copies appeared in a deluxe edition, 1550 copies in a limited edition. Distributor: Lane Book Company.

47. MISSIONARY IN SONORA, the Travel Reports of Joseph Och, S. J., 1755-1767. Translated and annotated by Theodore E. Treutlein. 1965. xviii + 196 p. *Maps, index.*

Special publication no. 40. The travel reports of Father Och are presented in three parts: "Journey to the Missions"—from Würzburg to Sonora; "Expulsion of the Jesuits and Return to Spain"—and finally to Würzburg again; "Reports on America in General"—concerning the characteristics of the Indians of Sonora, stock raising, gold and silver mines, and other things. Designed by Adrian Wilson. Maps and drawings by Ruth Chatfield. Distributor: Lane Book Company.

48. INDEX TO CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY, Volumes One to Forty, 1922-1961. Preface by Donald C. Biggs. 1965. [x] + 483 p.

Special publication no. 41. A cumulative index of the *Quarterly* for the first thirty-nine years of its existence, this is an invaluable research tool for the history of California and the West. A second index, following the *Quarterly* up to 1971, is in process. This volume was designed by Adrian Wilson and printed by Anderson, Ritchie and Simon.

49. SAN FRANCISCO BAY, DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION, 1769-1776. By Theodore E. Treutlein. 1968. xii + 152 p. *Illus., maps, index.*

Special publication no. 42. Dr. Treutlein traces the story from the genesis of the Portolá Expedition of 1769 to the founding of the Presidio and Mission at San Francisco in 1776. Designed by Adrian Wilson. Distributor: Lane Magazine & Book Company.

50. A PICTORIAL AND NARRATIVE HISTORY OF MONTEREY, ADOBE CAPITAL OF CALIFORNIA, 1770-1847. By Jeanne Van Nostrand. 1968. 100 p. 40 plates, *index.*

Special publication no. 43. This large book with reproductions of paintings, many in color, treats of the discovery and settlement of Monterey, the Spanish days, Mexican era, and the American occupation in 1846-1847. A section is devoted to "Historical and Biographical Notes on The First Pictures and Artists of Monterey." Designed by Adrian Wilson. Type faces are Van Dijk and Monterey, composed by MacKenzie & Harris, Inc., San Francisco. Printing by Cardinal Company, San Francisco, under the supervision of Charles R. Wood. Distributor: Lane Magazine & Book Company.

51. VIZCAÍNO, AND SPANISH EXPANSION IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN, 1580-1630. By W. Michael Mathes. 1968. [xvi] + 186 p. *Illus., maps, biblio., index.*

Special publication no. 44. The role of Sebastián Vizcaíno in the exploration of the California coast has not been recognized as fully as it might be. In this book, Dr. Mathes presents Vizcaíno "as a major figure in Spanish expansion in the Pacific." Designed by Adrian Wilson. Distributor: Lane Magazine & Book Company.

52. WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN: GOLD RUSH BANKER. By Dwight L. Clarke. 1969. xviii + 446 p. *Frontis., photos., biblio., index.*

Special publication no. 45. Before Sherman was a general in Georgia, he was a banker in California. Since the banking took place in San Francisco during the Gold Rush, it "may well have played a part in maturing Sherman's judgment of men and their mettle." Designed by Adrian Wilson. Distributor: Lane Magazine & Book Company.

PERIODICALS

SINCE THE REORGANIZATION in 1922, publication has been a primary goal of the Society. The special publications have appeared on an average of almost once a year, but at irregular intervals. The *Quarterly* and the *Notes* have appeared on a regular basis since their inception in

1922 and 1949 respectively. Averaging slightly more than 400 pages per volume through 1970, the *Quarterly* has published roughly 20,000 pages concerning the history of California and the West. During this time it has maintained a consistently high level of selection, editing, and printing. The *Notes* have presented the on-going activities of the Society in a briefer, less formal style, but with similar concern for quality in printing.

53. CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY.

Volume I, no. 1 of the *Quarterly* is dated July, 1922. Although the journal has been published as a quarterly without interruption since that time, the first volume contains only three numbers—July, 1922, October, 1922, and January, 1923. The four numbers in volume II are dated April, July, October, 1923, and January, 1924. In volume III the numbers are dated April, July, October, and December, 1924. Thereafter, the numbers have appeared regularly in March, June, September, and December of each year.

An annual index was issued as a separate for volumes I to XV; thereafter, it was bound with the December issue. A cumulative index covering volumes I to XL (1922-1961) was issued as special publication no. 41 in 1965. (See item no. 48 in this bibliography.) A second cumulative index is in process.

The *Quarterly* has published authoritative articles on the history of California and the West, the volumes averaging approximately 400 pages per year. Book reviews have been a part of the journal since its beginning. A few illustrations and inserts appear in the early volumes; after volume V in 1926, they appear with greater frequency.

Published in octavo since its beginning, the title on the cover has alternated between *Quarterly of the California Historical Society* and *California Historical Society Quarterly*; the former was no longer used after volume XII (1933). With the March issue of 1971 (vol. L, no. 1), the title became *California Historical Quarterly*. Changes in the design of the cover have occurred with volumes VII, XI, XIV, XVII, XIX, XXIII, XXXIII, XL, XLIV, and L.

The first issues of the *Quarterly* were printed in Berkeley by H. S. Howard. In 1926, James Gillick took over the printing. A new level of style was established by Lawton Kennedy after he became printer of the journal in 1933. Through several changes between 1933 and 1964, Lawton Kennedy kept the format of the *Quarterly* abreast or ahead of comparable journals. From 1964 to

the present, Anderson, Ritchie & Simon, of Los Angeles, have printed the journal.

The Johnson Reprint Corporation offers copies of volumes I through XXIII (1922-1944). Single issues of later numbers are still available at the Society's headquarters. Reprints of issues after 1944 will become available in the future.

54. CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES.

In December, 1948, a pamphlet was published by the Society titled *Notes from the California Historical Society*. It contained a "Prologue" which read in part as follows: "For some months the Board of Directors has felt the need of a channel of communication, which will be more informal than the *Quarterly*, between the Society and its members. They have long wanted to supply the distant members who are unable to visit the headquarters with news of the activities centered here. Now, in view of the spreading geographical distribution of the membership, and with its rapid growth—it has, in the past three years, doubled—the need has become urgent. And so, with this preliminary issue, the Society is introducing to its friends its monthly *Notes*, with volume I, number 1 in preparation for an appearance in January."

The *Notes* have been published each month for ten months of the year (July and August excepted) since 1949, with the exception of 1956, when an issue appeared for all twelve months. From 1949 to June, 1957, the *Notes* were printed on light green paper (9 x 6 inches) and contained no illustrations. With the September issue of 1957, the paper was changed to glossy white and photographs and illustrations became a part of each issue. With volume XXII, no. 8 (October, 1970), the format was increased to 7 x 10 inches and photographs were given greater prominence. Starting with volume XXIII (1971), the *Notes* were issued only in January, February, April, May, July, October, and November.

The title has varied slightly: *Notes from the California Historical Society* (vol. I to vol. IX, no. 6); *California Historical Society Notes* (vol. IX, no. 7 to vol. XIV); *Notes California Historical Society* (vol. XV to vol. XXII, no. 7); and *California Historical Society Notes* (vol. XXII, no. 8 to date).

ART CATALOGUES

THE FINE ARTS DEPARTMENT—now the Exhibits Department—is involved in art history research as a regular part of its program. Over the years it has published a number of art catalogues to accompany some of its more important exhibits of California artists and collections. These catalogues have been printed in limited paper bound editions. Two less ambitious pamphlets have been included in this section, since they describe art exhibits held at the Society.

55. THE GOLDEN GATE AND FORT POINT. [1960] 6 p. (folded.)

A pamphlet concerning an exhibition of paintings dealing with the Golden Gate and Fort Point, the contents are: "Introduction," "Fort Point," and "Exhibition." Twenty-nine paintings are listed. Exhibition at the California Historical Society (December 7, 1960 to January 30, 1961). Printed by Lawton Kennedy.

56. GRACE CARPENTER HUDSON (1865-1937), Oil Paintings and Sketches, Including Works on Loan from C. Frederick Faudé. By Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr. [1962] 18 p. *Frontis.*, 3 *plates*, *biblio.*

Catalogue 1, California artists series. The frontispiece is a photograph of the artist at her home in Ukiah. The catalogue includes a biography of Grace Carpenter Hudson, a bibliography, a list of works on loan to the Society from the Faudé Galleries for the exhibit, a similar list from the Sloss Collection, and three reproductions of the artist's paintings. Exhibition at the California Historical Society (May 22-August 1, 1962). Catalogue size: 8½ x 11 inches.

57. SAMUEL MARSDEN BROOKES (1816-1892), An Exhibition Jointly Sponsored by The California Historical Society and The Oakland Art Museum. Edited by Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr., with contributions from Lucy Agar Marshall and Lewis Ferbraché. [1962] 38 p. *Frontis.*, 10 *plates*, *biblio.*

Catalogue 2, California artists series. The frontispiece is a self portrait of the artist in 1885. The catalogue includes a description of the artist's family background (including a family tree), a chronology of his life, a discussion of his art, a bibliography, a "Catalogue of Works by Samuel M. Brookes," four photographs of the artist, and nine reproductions of his paintings. Exhibition at the California Historical Society (November 10 to December 29, 1962); Oakland Art Museum (January 5 to February 3, 1963). 300 copies printed. Size: 8½ x 11 inches.

58. RAYMOND DABB YELLAND (1848-1900). Compiled by Kent L. Seavey. [1964] 18 p. *Frontis.*, 3 plates, *biblio.*

Catalogue 3, California artists series. The frontispiece is a photograph of R. D. Yelland and two students of his sketch class. The catalogue includes a discussion of the artist, a chronology of his life, a selected bibliography, a "Catalogue of Works by Raymond D. Yelland," and three reproductions of his paintings. Exhibition at the California Historical Society (May 15 to July 10, 1964). 200 copies printed. Size: 8½ x 11 inches.

59. FRANCIS JOHN MCCOMAS (1875-1938). By Kent L. Seavey. [1965] 22 p. *Frontis.*, 3 plates, *biblio.*

Catalogue 4, California artists series. The frontispiece is a portrait photograph of the artist. The catalogue includes a discussion of the artist (including quotations from an interview of about 1910), a chronology of the artist's life, a bibliography, a "Catalogue of Works by Francis John McComas," and three reproductions of his paintings. Exhibition at the California Historical Society (January 15 to March 20, 1965). 250 copies printed. Size: 8½ x 11 inches.

60. CHARLES DORMAN ROBINSON (1847-1933). By Kent L. Seavey. [1965] 22 p. *Frontis.*, 4 plates, *biblio.*

Catalogue 5, California artists series. The frontispiece is a portrait photograph of the artist. The catalogue includes a discussion of the artist, a bibliography, a "Catalogue of the Works of Charles Dorman Robinson," a photograph of the artist as a boy, and three reproductions of his paintings. Exhibition at the California Historical Society (December 21, 1965 to March 11, 1966). 250 copies printed. Size: 8½ x 11 inches.

61. IN THE OPEN, Watercolors by E. Geoffrey Bangs. 1968. 4 p.

This pamphlet-catalogue includes a one paragraph biography of Mr. Bangs, a list of 64 paintings, and a discussion by the artist of watercolor painting. Exhibition at the California Historical Society (September 3 to 22, 1968). Size: 8 x 10 inches.

62. THE DR. AND MRS. BRUCE FRIEDMAN COLLECTION. Edited by Joseph A. Baird, Jr. [1969] 31 p. 11 plates.

The catalogue includes a foreword by Lewis Ferbraché, an introduction by Bruce Friedman, a "Catalogue" of the Friedman Collection with biographies and notes by Lewis Ferbraché, and eleven reproductions of paintings in the collection. Exhibition at the California Historical Society (September 30 to November 15, 1969). Size: 8½ x 11 inches.

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

ONCE PAST THE RELATIVELY well mapped area of books and periodicals, with their comparatively consistent formats and their usually present imprints, the bibliographer approaches the wilderness of miscellaneous materials—pamphlets, separates, reprints, brochures, broadsides, reports, keepsakes, invitations, announcements, notices, and, for want of a better word, ephemera. The California Historical Society has not been remiss in publishing this sort of material. Some of it should be preserved and described and listed; some of it will not be missed. I have selected items representative of a cross section of this miscellaneous material.

There are numerous reprints from the *Quarterly*. My selection includes those listed as part of a pamphlet series on the back cover of certain issues of the *Quarterly*. Among other miscellaneous items, I have selected those which relate to a significant event or which reveal particular care in printing. The number selected has been determined by a desire to end this bibliography at 100 items—appropriate for a centennial, satisfying to the orderly instincts of a bibliographer.

63. THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, SECRETARY'S REPORT, 1890-91. By A. S. Hubbard. 1891. 4 p.

Printed on light blue paper (5½ x 8½ inches). The title page lists Jno. R. Jarboe as President and A. S. Hubbard as Secretary and Librarian. The Society was located at 819 Market St., San Francisco. The report includes a list of meetings held, papers read, a financial report, and a membership report.

64. THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY will hold its November Meeting for 1891, on Tuesday evening, the 10th inst., at 8 o'clock, in its rooms in the building of the California Academy of Sciences, 819 Market Street, San Francisco. 1891. 1 p.

This notice on a single sheet of white paper (5½ x 8¼ inches) announces a talk by Professor William Carey Jones titled "Journal of a U. S. Soldier to California in 1846-7."

65. ADVENTURES ON THE PLAINS. By Charles Cardinell. 1922. 15 p.

Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (July, 1922). The original title was "Adventures of the Plains," from three articles in the San Francisco *Chronicle* (January 21, February 5, and February 16, 1856). 150 copies issued separately.

66. KIT CARSON IN CALIFORNIA, With Extracts from His Own Story. By Charles L. Camp. 1922. 41 p. *Photo*.

Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (October, 1922). 150 copies.

67. PORTSMOUTH SQUARE. By Helen Throop Purdy. 1924. 17 p.
Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (April, 1924). 100 copies.
68. THE MEMOIRS OF LEMUEL CLARKE MCKEEBY. 1924. 75 p. *Map*.
Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (April and July, 1924). 100 copies.
69. CALIFORNIA BIBLIOGRAPHIES, A List Compiled by Willard O. Waters of the Henry E. Huntington Library. 1924. 16 p.
Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (October, 1924). 60 copies.
70. EXPLORATION OF THE SIERRA NEVADA. By Francis P. Farquhar. 1925. 58 p. *Photos*.
Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (March, 1925). 270 copies, "of which seventy are for private distribution by the author."
71. THE SCALPEL UNDER THREE FLAGS IN CALIFORNIA. By George D. Lyman. 1925. 67 p. *Photos*.
Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (June, 1925); "parts of this paper were published in the recent historical number of *California and Western Medicine*." 100 copies, 50 reserved for the author.
72. CAMELS IN WESTERN AMERICA. By A. A. Gray, Francis P. Farquhar, and William S. Lewis. 1930. 48 p. *Illus., biblio*.
Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (December, 1930). 300 copies.
73. GEORGE DAVIDSON, GEOGRAPHER OF THE NORTHWEST COAST OF AMERICA. By Henry R. Wagner. [1933?] 24 p. *Portrait, biblio*.
Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (December, 1932). 50 copies.
74. A TRIP TO THE MINING REGIONS IN THE SPRING OF 1859, "California Staats-Kalender" in the Leap Year, A.D. 1860. By Eduard Vischer. Translated from the German by Ruth Frey Axe. [1933?] 41 p. *Illus*.
Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (September and December, 1932). 50 copies.

75. A CENSUS OF CALIFORNIA SPANISH IMPRINTS, 1833-1845. By George L. Harding. 1933. 18 p. *Illus.*

Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (June, 1933). 100 copies.

76. THE MEMOIRS OF THEODOR CORDUA, The Pioneer of New Mecklenburg in the Sacramento Valley. Edited and translated by Erwin G. Gudde. [1934?] 33 p. *Frontis.*

Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (December, 1933). 100 copies, 75 reserved for the author.

77. WILLIAM ALEXANDER TRUBODY AND THE OVERLAND PIONEERS OF 1847. By Charles L. Camp. 1937. 22 p. *Frontis.*

Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (June, 1937). 100 copies printed by Lawton R. Kennedy, San Francisco.

78. AN ORDINANCE, JANUARY 30, 1847. By Wash'n A. Bartlett, Chief Magistrate. Published by order, J. G. T. Dunleavy, Municipal Clerk. [1938] 4 p. *Illus.*

Pamphlet, issued for the official opening of the Society's headquarters at 456 McAllister Street. Copy of ordinance whereby the city's name was changed from Yerba Buena to San Francisco. Size of pamphlet: 6¼ x 5 inches. Printed by Lawton Kennedy.

79. PETER LASSEN, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA'S TRAIL-BLAZER. By Ruby Johnson Swartzlow. 1940. 24 p. *Frontis., illus.*

Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (December, 1939), printed by Lawton R. Kennedy, San Francisco.

80. EDWARD VISCHER'S FIRST VISIT TO CALIFORNIA. Translated and edited by Erwin Gustav Gudde. 1940. 24 p. *Frontis.*

Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (September, 1940). Printed by Lawton R. Kennedy.

81. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF SEBASTIÁN RODRÍGUEZ CERMEÑO'S CALIFORNIA VISIT IN 1595. By Robert Fleming Heizer. A Paper read before the California Historical Society on December 16, 1941, and published in the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. XX, No. 4 (December, 1941). With an Introduction by

Alfred Louis Kroeber and a Report by Colin Garfield Fink and Eugene Paul Polushkin on the Examination of Ten Iron Spikes Recently Found at Drake's Bay. 1942. 32 p. *Photos*.

Pamphlet series; the introduction by Kroeber and the report by Fink and Polushkin were added to the paper originally published by Heizer in the *Quarterly* in order to make this pamphlet. Printed by Lawton R. Kennedy.

82. WHEN THE FRENCH CAME TO CALIFORNIA, by Gilbert Chinard, and CALIFORNIA UNVEILED, a translation by Désiré Fricot of Trény's "La Californie Dévoilée." 1944. 56 p. *Frontis., illus.*

Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (December, 1943 and March, 1944).

83. SAN FRANCISCO IN 1847. By Victor Prevost. 1944. 1 p.

Keepsake no. 1; a reproduction of an early lithograph in the collection of the Society. Size: 17 x 22 inches, folded. Printed by Lawton R. Kennedy.

84. PILGRIMAGE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY TO THE SITE FROM WHERE THE SOLDIERS OF GOVERNOR GASPAR DE PORTOLÁ DISCOVERED THE BAY OF SAN FRANCISCO. 1948. 4 p.

Pamphlet containing notes from "The March of Portolá" by Zoeth S. Eldredge, a schedule of activities, and a list of members of the Historical Committee, Portolá Festival and Pageant of 1948.

85. RECOLLECTIONS OF TEMPLETON CROCKER, FOUNDER OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. By Henry R. Wagner. 1950. 4 p.

Keepsake no. 2; 1500 copies printed by The Westgate Press.

86. AUCTION BY MAIL OF CALIFORNIANA, ETC. Recently purchased from the Estate of the late Commodore Ernest A. Wiltsee, Historian of note and a Vice President of the Society. There are also a few items additional. Compiled by A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D. [1950?] 8 p.

The Society was located at 456 McAllister Street. 246 items were listed for auction.

87. THE PERALTAS AND THEIR HOUSES. By J. N. Bowman. 1951. 19 p. *Illus.*

Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (September, 1951). 200 copies printed by The Westgate Press.

88. CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP BULLETIN—SPRING, 1956. 4 p. *Illus.*

The Society was located in the Flood Building, 870 Market Street, at this time. Size of bulletin: 8½ x 11 inches.

89. THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, California. [1956] 4 p. *Photo.*

Centered on the front page is a photograph of the Society's new headquarters at 2090 Jackson Street. Pages 2 and 3 contain a description of this building from 1894 to 1956—date of construction to date of acquisition by the Society. On page 4 is a list of the Board of Directors.

90. SOME CALIFORNIA DATES OF 1860. Compiled by Gordon C. Roardarmel. [1960] 12 p.

Pamphlet series, reprinted from the *Quarterly* (December, 1959). Printed by Lawton Kennedy.

91. FRANCIS DRAKE'S VISIT TO CALIFORNIA, 1579, AND HIS PLATE OF BRASS. 1961. 4 p. *Illus., facsim.*

Attached to page 2 of this brochure is a facsimile of the Plate of Brass on special, heavy weight, brass tinted paper. On page 3 Francis P. Farquhar describes the discovery of the Plate and states that it is genuine.

92. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR FOR 1961. [1962] 12 p. *Photos.*

Separate, from the *Quarterly* (March, 1962), pages 71-78. An individual cover was designed for this report. In the *Quarterly* the two photographs are inserted before the report; they are placed after the report in the separate.

93. SCHUBERT HALL, New Library of the California Historical Society. [1962] xii. *Photos., illus., diagrams.*

Reprint from the *Notes*, vol. XIV, no. 5. Originally inserted between pages 4 and 5 of the *Notes*; when issued as a reprint, a separate cover was designed. Outside front cover: Schubert Hall. Inside front cover: "This reprint . . . describes our acquisition of the building and our approach to its remodeling." Inside back cover: Officers and Board of Trustees of the Society.

94. HENRY R. WAGNER MEMORIAL AWARD DINNER, The Mansion, September 27, 1962. 1 p.

This program was printed for the presentation of the Henry R. Wagner Award to Thomas Winthrop Streeter. Size: 13 x 19 inches, folded twice.

95. THE CALIFORNIA STAR, Facsimile of the April 1, 1848, Edition. [n.d.]

The "Express Extra" edition of *The California Star* carried a long promotional article by Dr. Victor G. Fourgeaud titled "Prospects of California." It also contained, on page 2, four sentences that lead off: "We saw a few days ago, a beautiful specimen of gold. . . ." 100 copies.

96. SAN FRANCISCO—1851; THE GOLDEN CITY AS THE ARGONAUTS SAW IT, from a seven plate daguerreotype panorama owned by the California Historical Society. Commentary and notes by Robert A. Weinstein. [1968]

Reprinted from the *Quarterly* (March, 1968). This is a 60 inch panorama obtainable in two forms—folded in a cover, or rolled in a tube.

97. THE MANSION OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: 2090 JACKSON STREET, SAN FRANCISCO. By Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr. [1969] 18 p. *Frontis*.

A separate, from the *Quarterly* (December, 1969), pp. 308-324. Frontispiece is portrait of William Franklin Whittier, original owner of the house.

98. A DIRECTORY OF THE PRINCIPAL LIBRARIES AND MUSEUMS IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA, WITH EMPHASIS ON THE BAY AREA. Compiled by Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr., *et al.* 1970. 17 p.

99. THE 1970 HENRY R. WAGNER MEMORIAL AWARD DINNER HONORING CHARLES L. CAMP. 1970. 4 p. *Portrait*.

The frontispiece is an invitation to the dinner. Second page: a portrait and bibliography of Charles L. Camp. Third page: list of dignitaries, nature of the Award. Fourth page: Selection Committee, Past Wagner Award Recipients, the Board of Trustees. Size: 7¼ x 11 inches. Designed and printed by Lawton and Alfred Kennedy.

100. ". . . IT IS A DANGEROUS-LOOKING PLACE." Sailing Days on the Redwood Coast. By Karl Kortum and Roger Olmsted. 1971. 16 p. *Photos*.

A pamphlet reprinted from the *Quarterly* (March, 1971), this separate inaugurates a new series of offprints that will frequently be associated with traveling exhibitions. The publication of this pamphlet and the mounting of the exhibition, "Sailing Days on the Redwood Coast," was assisted by the Pacific Lumber Company.

W. Michael Mathes

Author of several books on Hispanic California, is Associate Professor of History, University of San Francisco.

Early California Propaganda: The Works of Fray Antonio de la Ascencion

CALIFORNIA HAS LONG BEEN a favorite subject of propagandists. Hundreds of thousands of health seekers, land investors, manufacturers, farmers, pensioners, and speculators have been lured to California by the use of skillful propaganda. Most of this propaganda is of recent origin, beginning in the 1880's, with the great health and land boom; however, this modern promotion of California's advantages only elaborates and diversifies the labors of Fray Antonio de la Ascención in the seventeenth century.

Born in Salamanca, in 1573 or 1574, Fray Antonio studied cosmography in the university there and at the College for Pilots at Sevilla prior to coming to New Spain in 1597. In 1590, while still in Toro, Spain, Fray Antonio was ordained a priest in the Order of Discalced Carmelites.¹ He served at the Convent of San Sebastian of Mexico, in the Carmelite Province of San Alberto, and on February 20, 1602, was named by Provincial Fray Pedro de los Apóstoles to accompany Vicar and Commissary General Fray Andrés de la Asunción and Fray Tomás de Aquino on an expedition to California being mounted by Sebastián Vizcaíno, with the purpose of seeking a safe port for the Manila galleons.² Apart from carrying out ecclesiastical duties, Fray Antonio was to serve as Vicar in the event of Fray Andrés' death and was to employ his skill as a cosmographer by serving as assistant to cosmographer Gerónimo Martín Palacios.³

The Vizcaino expedition sailed from Acapulco on May 5, 1602, charted the California coast from Cabo San Lucas to Cape Mendocino, and made detailed maps, logs, and sailing directions. Fray Antonio served actively on the voyage, joining in exploration and going ashore whenever possible. Upon the return of the expedition to Acapulco on March 21, 1603, Fray Antonio accompanied Vizcaíno to the City of Mexico to aid in the preparation of reports.⁴ On November 8 and 19 the final official sailing directions and maps, as redrawn by Enrico Martínez, were completed and submitted to the Viceroy Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Conde de Monterrey,⁵ and they were remitted to the Crown on November 22.⁶

Fray Antonio had prepared an extensive set of sailing directions. These were, in the main, strictly factual in content and conformed with the official

documents; however, even at this early date Fray Antonio was beginning to reflect his strong sentiment toward California. Beginning at Cape Mendocino and ending at Acapulco, the sailing directions described landmarks, noted depths, wind direction, latitude, and anchorages—but at times commentary was suggested that might attract ships to the area. The lee of Point Reyes was described as a “port for all ships.” Monterey Bay was treated with greater superlatives, having “abundant and very fine pines for masts, arms and beams very near to the beach, . . . a very humid plain where, with little digging, very fine and abundant fresh water comes to the surface, . . .” and, “as a very fine stopping port for the China ships since this is the first place where they make landfall en route to New Spain.” The area of the Santa Barbara Channel also met with praise as being “extensively populated by people friendly to Spaniards, . . .” with Santa Catalina Island also having “many anchorages on the northeast side which afford protection from all sea winds. . . .” San Diego Bay was described as a “very good bay . . . very fine anchorage . . . protected from all winds without surf or undertow . . . which can be entered or left with much safety, . . .” and as having “very fine firewood and fresh water which is obtained by digging shallow wells. . . .” While little was stated relative to Ensenada de Todos Santos, the outer cove of Bahía San Quintín, named by Vizcaíno Once Mil Vírgenes, was considered a “very fine shelter . . . with very fine fresh water, . . .” and with “fisherman Indians that are very peaceful and friendly to the Spanish. . . .” Describing the southern coast of the peninsula, Fray Antonio found the area to abound in marine life, Isla de la Asunción being a place where “with lines, a ship may be filled with very fine fish in a short time”; while Isla San Roque had “a most extensive number of sea lions as large as sheep”; and Bahía de Ballenas had an “infinite number of whales which I believe come after fish which are infinite in number as are the birds of various species. . . .” In the lee of Cabo San Lucas (at the southernmost point of Baja California), Bahía de San Bernabé he said was a “good port . . . with much fresh water . . .” and “much firewood and fish. . . .” While Fray Antonio’s sailing directions reflect only minor exaggerations in light of the types of vessels employed at the time and the needs of their crews, there can be little doubt as to his enthusiasm toward California.⁷

Although this enthusiasm was shared by Vizcaíno as well as the Conde de Monterrey, plans for settlement in California met with opposition. In hearings before the Audiencia, in memorials, and in letters to the Crown, Vizcaíno urged the settlement of Monterey Bay during the years 1603 to 1608 but was halted by the successor to the Conde de Monterrey, Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Marqués de Montesclaros, who took office in 1604. Montesclaros, as did others, favored a port more centrally located in the galleon route from Manila to Acapulco and pressed for the discovery of the Islas Rica de Oro y Rica de Plata, reputed to be in the mid-Pacific off the coast of Japan.⁸

During these years, Fray Antonio had remained silent relative to California, but he had not remained unappraised of the results of hearings and the various plans set forth for settlement and exploration of the Pacific. On June 18, 1608, Fray Antonio wrote to Felipe III from the Convent of San Sebastián stating that he had served on the Vizcaíno expedition of 1602-1603 as a cosmographer, that he was free from pretensions, and that after several days of meditation and prayer relative to the settlement of Monterey had decided to write in support of the settlement of San Bernabé at Cabo San Lucas. The voyage to Monterey, he continued, was of seven months duration with contrary winds, great illness among the crew, and a high mortality rate, whereas the voyage to Cabo San Lucas was short, the Manila galleons could be aided effectively, and supply would be less difficult. To accomplish the settlement of San Bernabé, four large ships would be necessary at a low cost, while Vizcaíno would require more vessels, incur greater expenses, and need two years to settle Monterey which is a "plan of the devil . . . since in the interim those souls at San Bernabé would be dying without having received Holy Baptism. . . ."

Reiterating his recommendation for the settlement of San Bernabé, Fray Antonio continued his letter by enumerating the benefits of such a plan:

"1-the avoidance of so much expense; 2-the planting of the Faith in that land to make war on the devil, which is the principal reason for everything said herein; 3-in that bay there are the finest pearl fishing grounds, I believe, in the universe which are easily worked and from which Your Majesty may acquire great wealth every year; famous fisheries of tuna, sardines and other fish as fine as in Vizcaya can be developed bringing great wealth to New Spain, and in the same port there is a great salt deposit for the enterprise; 4-this land is understood to be contiguous with that of New Mexico and very nearby are the famous towns said to be located there, although Don Juan de Oñate has not been able, by the route he has followed, to reach this province; . . .⁹ 5-to warn the Manila ships in the event of enemies along the coast it is the best port, since this is where the English took the ship *Santa Ana*; . . .¹⁰ with this settlement it will be easy to discover the extent of the gulf that is formed by the sea at this point, since it is presumed that it crosses to the Atlantic Ocean and if this is found to be the case, the Peruvian galleons and other ships in the Pacific could sail through this strait and reach Spain more easily than via Havana; . . .¹¹ and, to preserve this settlement Your Majesty would not need to make annual expenditures because there are millions of Spaniards settled in the province of Jalisco and the Culiacán coast who are only waiting that this port be populated so that they might cross to California with their fortunes, since the land is so fine and fertile and the passage easy and short. . . ."

Fray Antonio concluded his letter by requesting that, in the event of the settlement of California, the Province of San Alberto of the Discalced Carmelites be granted the mission field since they had done little in the conversion of New Spain.¹²

Despite his superlatives, ideals and beliefs in the Strait of Anian (Northwest Passage), Fray Antonio was as unsuccessful in his plea for the settlement of California as was Vizcaíno. On September 27, 1608, prior to the

receipt of Fray Antonio's letter, a Royal Order was issued quashing plans for California and providing for the discovery of the *Islas Rica de Oro y Rica de Plata*.¹³ In direct answer to Fray Antonio, a Royal Order was issued to Viceroy Luis de Velasco on April 14, 1609, acknowledging the letter and remitting it to Velasco for his information without further comment.¹⁴

The Royal Order of September 27, 1608, virtually halted interest in California by focusing upon the western Pacific. Vizcaíno, charged with the discovery of the *Islas Rica de Oro y Rica de Plata*, also carried out an embassy to Japan during the years 1611-1613, while Fray Antonio confined his labors to ecclesiastical duties at the convent of San Sebastián. Nevertheless, in 1613, during Vizcaíno's absence in Japan, Tomás de Cardona and his partners in Sevilla revived some interest by acquiring the exclusive rights to pearl fishing in the Gulf of California which had previously been granted to Vizcaíno in 1594.¹⁵ By 1615, the Cardona enterprise had outfitted an expedition in Acapulco under the leadership of Nicolás de Cardona and Juan de Iturbe. From March to October, 1615, Cardona and Iturbe searched for pearls in the gulf with minor success; and on the return voyage to Acapulco one of their ships was captured by the Dutch corsair, Joris van Spilbergen, bankrupting the operation and halting future expeditions.¹⁶

Even without the loss of one ship, the small quantity of pearls discovered had been insufficient to justify the expense of the expedition. Thus, in the years following the return of Cardona and Iturbe, California was again abandoned—except in the mind of Fray Antonio. Writing from San Sebastián in Mexico on October 12, 1620, Fray Antonio presented his "Descriptive account of California according to data obtained during the second voyage of Sebastián Vizcaíno [1602] and norms for the peaceful occupation of California" to the Viceroy, Diego Fernández de Córdoba, Marqués de Guadalcázar.¹⁷

This document opened with a statement relative to the nature of the expedition, its personnel and the fact that a map, drawn by the author, had been presented to the Crown and the Council of the Indies. In accord with his letter of 1608, Fray Antonio then described the desolate area of San Bernabé, located across from Nueva Galicia on the Gulf of California which "extends to New Mexico, passes the Kingdom of Quivira, and terminates at the Strait of Anian. . . ." The gulf, he continued, was often called the *Mar Bermejo* (Vermillion Sea) because of the excrement of the great quantity of fish therein, that there were whales, "to the extent that they cannot be counted" both there and along the coast to Cape Mendocino, and that on both shores there were "many beds of oysters where many valuable and large pearls are cultivated and these are found as far up as thirty-six degrees latitude. . . ."¹⁸ Amplifying this concept of the wealth of the gulf, Fray Antonio enumerated the species of fish to be found including sardines, corbina, sturgeon, salmon, tuna, bonito, dolphin and whales, all in "infinite number" and which would "fill a net to the point of its breaking."

The wealth of the land surrounding San Bernabé was also sketched in superlatives. It was "very fertile and of beautiful appearance . . . with fine fields . . . for farming and the raising of cattle as well as sheep, goats and hogs. There is much game and game birds such as rabbit, hare, deer, lion, tiger, armadillo, pigeon, dove and quail, as well as many woods, fig trees . . . and near the beach, a grove of plum trees. . . ." Also near the beach "there is a lake of fine fresh water . . . and a small salt water lake . . . surrounded by fine tasty white salt. . . ." The many Indians living there "treated us with love and friendship. . . ." ¹⁹

Still writing of San Bernabé, Fray Antonio stated that this was "the place where His Majesty should order the founding of the first colony of Spaniards . . . and begin the preaching of the Holy Gospel. . . ." Furthermore, "nearby is the mountain range we call the Sierra Pintada or Sierra del Enfado which contains many different metals and from there can be extracted silver and gold. . . ." Terminating this treatise on San Bernabé, as always Fray Antonio recommended the sending of Discalced Carmelites to establish missions there.

Continuing his reflections upon the voyage, Fray Antonio described Bahía Magdalena as being fed by a "torrential river" and being the habitat of many whales which deposited ambergris there as well as along the entire coast. ²⁰ At Bahía San Bartolomé the "ambergris, according to those who know it, is very fine . . . and perhaps God, Our Lord, will not permit others who go there to recognize it as such . . . so that His Majesty may enjoy its fruits. . . ." San Diego Bay also received high praise as a location for settlement, since the Indians were friendly, the bay secure, and "on the beach there was a large number of golden flowers, a manifest sign that in the surrounding hills there are gold mines. . . ." Ambergris, as well as various fine fish were found at San Diego, and the Indians employed a blue dye made from powdered blue stones "which appear to be of a metal rich in silver. . . ." At San Diego, Fray Antonio continued, the Indians indicated the presence in the interior of men like the Spaniards, who held silver in high esteem and who mined it, "that may be Dutch or English who sail through the Strait of Anian and could be settled on the gulf coast . . . and if such is the case His Majesty should investigate. . . ."

The next place of detailed interest to Fray Antonio was Monterey Bay ²¹ "where the ships from the Philippines to New Spain make landfall . . ." and which was a "fine port, well protected and supplied with water, firewood and wood for masts of ships as well as for building them. . . ." The Carmel River entered the bay nearby and "when the China ships reach this anchorage after a four month voyage in need of repairs this is a very good port and it should be assured of settlement by Spaniards for aid to the voyagers and for the conversion of the Indians there to our Holy Faith, . . ." while the nearness to China and Japan would permit trade with those areas. The surrounding countryside he found "very fertile . . . with much game and

game birds . . . and among the animals there are very large and wild bears, others called antelope from which are obtained hides and others of the size of a heifer of the physical structure of deer . . . many fish and a great variety of shellfish . . . shells that are very beautiful with fine mother of pearl . . . and along the entire coast there is a great abundance of seals or sea dogs the size of a year old lamb which sleep on the surface of the water and other times come ashore to lie in the sun . . . and the Indians dress in their pelts. . . ."²²

The document continued with a cursory account of Drake's Bay and Cape Mendocino, where Vizcaíno's ship, the *San Diego*, could not maneuver due to the currents from the Strait of Anian. Because of these currents, "after eight days we had gained one degree of latitude which placed us in forty-three degrees in sight of a point which was named San Sebastián and next to which a river, named Santa Inés, empties. . . . Here is the headland and end of the Kingdom of California and the beginning and entrance to the Strait of Anian. . . ."²³ After this final description of California, Fray Antonio concluded the "Descriptive account" with a brief discussion of the return voyage to Acapulco, and proceeded with his "norms for the peaceful occupation of California."

The most efficient means of pacifying and settling California, Fray Antonio stated, was through the conversion of the natives to Christianity. Recommendations as to the number of men and ships were made, and again the Discalced Carmelites were seen as the most worthy missionaries for this conversion. A fort and town should be constructed at San Bernabé, and provisions made for the introduction of livestock as well as wheat, corn, and grapevines. Fray Antonio then reiterated his arguments for the settlement of San Bernabé relative to the mineral wealth to be obtained in California and the value of the Gulf of California as an approach to New Mexico and the Strait of Anian, and he also amplified his statements with a treatise on the Colorado River (Río del Tizón). The river, he wrote, was an ideal entry to New Mexico and the settlement of the area could be accomplished through its use. Furthermore, "the lake of gold and towns of Rey Coronado are nearby, . . . and all may enjoy the fine pearl fisheries and mineral wealth, . . . the settlers of New Mexico from the lake of gold and those of California from the rich hills which contain an abundance of minerals rich in silver. . . ."²⁴ Finally, Fray Antonio concluded, the new conquests should be made under supervision of the Crown and not by private enterprise if success was to be assured.²⁵

Although Fray Antonio's great memorial of 1620 received no official recognition, it did receive a great deal of acclaim by contemporary chroniclers. Franciscan Fray Juan de Torquemada in his *Monarquía Indiana* published by Mathias Clavijo in Sevilla in 1615 recounted the events of the voyage of 1602-1603 virtually verbatim from Fray Antonio and included his theories as to the wealth and the existence of the Strait of Anian.²⁶ Another Franciscan friend of Fray Antonio, Fray Gerónimo de Zarate Sal-

merón, in his widely consulted "*Relaciones de Todas las cosas que en el Nuevo México se han visto, . . . [1626]*" not only followed the accounts of the Vizcaíno voyage, but also included additional information relative to the Strait of Anian as recounted by Fray Antonio. This additional report stated that one Morena, a ship's pilot, was bound for England via the Strait of Anian as a prisoner of Francis Drake.²⁷ Becoming ill during the voyage, Morena was put ashore in the strait and, after four years of walking overland, reached New Mexico. Later, in Sombrerete, Morena recounted his adventure to Rodrigo del Río, Governor of Nueva Galicia, stating that he had seen Europeans with horses and lances who, according to Fray Antonio's report, were Muscovites.²⁸

Despite this acceptance of Fray Antonio's imaginative reporting, interest in California was not revived until 1627 with the presentation of a petition by Pedro Bastán for rights to fish for pearls in the Gulf of California.²⁹ Because of the claims of Nicolás de Cardona as well as Martín de Lezama, Vizcaíno's son-in-law, to prior rights to pearl fishing, a Royal Order was issued on August 2, 1628, requiring the Audiencia of México to take testimony relative to the value of California and the best means to accomplish its settlement.³⁰ Although such testimony was to be taken from all persons competent to give it, Fray Antonio, as the leading survivor of the Vizcaíno expedition, was the only witness specifically named, and was to be the first to testify.

Writing from the Carmelite convent in Valladolid (Morelia), Michoacán, on May 20, 1629, Fray Antonio presented his "First deposition. . ."³¹ This document summarized the more lengthy memorial of 1620 and particularly reiterated the value of the Gulf of California as an approach to the Strait of Anian and New Mexico, the ideal situation of San Bernabé for settlement, and the importance of the Colorado River as a means of reaching Quivira. Only a few lines were given to the essential events of the voyage, but Fray Antonio did not omit the fact that one of its results was the obtaining of "positive knowledge of great wealth in silver, gold, pearls and ambergris. . ."

Motivated by the Royal Order of August 2, 1628, Fray Antonio did not halt his efforts with one document. On June 8, a "Second deposition, . . ." repeated his previous statements and emphasized the importance of the Strait of Anian as a Spanish defensive outpost.³² To accompany his testimony, Fray Antonio also presented a map and his "Report relative to the discovery made from New Spain in the South Sea from the Port of Acapulco to Cape Mendocino, . . ." in which he recounted in great detail the events of the Vizcaíno expedition as published by Fray Juan de Torquemada.³³ While in the main this was a factual account of the voyage, Fray Antonio did not omit the attractions and advantages of California which he had previously stated in 1620, and he again urged the settlement of San Bernabé.

Other witnesses questioned did not reflect the enthusiasm of Fray Antonio.³⁴ Lope de Argüelles Quiñones³⁵ and Rodrigo de Vivero, Conde del

Valle de Orizaba³⁶ regarded California as an area merely worthy of settlement, while Enrico Martínez, noted cosmographer, mathematician, printer and engineer, rebutted Fray Antonio's theories.³⁷ Since no proof of a lake of gold or Strait of Anian existed, Martínez wrote, and since California had not been circumnavigated,³⁸ little credit could be given to these concepts and the only concrete value of the area lay in its pearl fisheries.³⁹

Undaunted by his detractors, Fray Antonio answered by another "Deposition . . ." from the Carmelite convent of Puebla de los Angeles on March 22, 1632. This final document steadfastly held to the theories put forth in 1620, and urged the establishment of missions at San Bernabé for "one soul is worth more than a thousand worlds. . . ."⁴⁰

Thus thirty years after his participation in the historic voyage of Vizcaíno, Fray Antonio continued to praise California and promote its settlement. Although his retirement to Puebla removed him from an active life, Fray Antonio did not lose interest in California and on November 24, 1635, he requested copies of the logs and diaries made by Francisco de Ortega during his pearl fishing expeditions to the Gulf of California between February, 1631, and May, 1636.⁴¹ This was apparently Fray Antonio's last act relative to California for sometime shortly thereafter he died at the age of sixty-three.⁴²

The impact of Fray Antonio's propaganda relative to California was felt for over a century. His account of the Vizcaíno expedition as published by Torquemada was included by Father Miguel Venegas, S.J., in his *Noticia de la California y de su Conquista Temporal y Espiritual*, published in 1757,⁴³ and was used by other historians of the eighteenth century as their source of information on California.⁴⁴ Although the Strait of Anian and lake of gold were but fantasy and San Bernabé is but a small fishing village now called San Lucas, certainly Fray Antonio's description of California as a land of great wealth has been borne out by the development of the area during the past century, and he may be ranked as not only California's first, but one of its most dedicated and effective propagandists.

NOTES

1. Uncertainty as to Fray Antonio's background is expressed by José Mariano Beristain de Souza, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana Septentrional* (México, 3rd ed., 1947), I, 179; and Henry Raup Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest: 1542-1794* (Albuquerque, 1937), 205-206. For further information on the Discalced Carmelites in New Spain see: Dionisio Victoriano Moreno, *Los Carmelitas Descalzos y la Conquista Espiritual de México: 1585-1612* (México, 1966), footnote, 267.

2. Archivo de la Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito, México; Misiones de la Alta California. Orden para que vaya R.P. Fray Andrés de Asunción a California: 3 de Enero 1602; and, Orden para que vayan los P.P. Fray Antonio de la Ascensión y Fray Tomás de Aquino a California: 20 de Febrero 1602. See also, México. Archivo y Biblioteca de la Secretaría de Hacienda, *Las Misiones de la Alta California*, Colección de Documentos Históricos, II (México, 1914), 1-26; G.M. Echániz, *Jornada Principal*

de las Californias (México, 1964), *passim*; and, W. Michael Mathes, ed., *Documentos para la historia de la demarcación comercial de California: 1583-1632* (Madrid, 1965), documentos 41 and 42.

3. Gerónimo Martín Palacios, his ability notwithstanding, was later found guilty of forging the King's name to his credentials and was hanged. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Audiencia de México, legajo 26, Capítulos de una carta escrita al Rey por el Marqués de Montesclaros sobre Sebastián Vizcaíno: 28 de Abril 1605. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 63.

4. For a detailed account of the Vizcaíno voyage see: W. Michael Mathes, *Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean: 1580-1630* (San Francisco, 1968), and works cited therein.

5. A. G. I., México 372, Derrotero desde Acapulco al Cabo Mendocino por Gerónimo Martín Palacios con los diseños de la costa hechos por Enrico Martínez: 8 y 19 de Noviembre 1603. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 57 and copies cited therein.

6. A. G. I., México 60, Carta escrita al Rey por el Conde de Monterrey sobre Sebastián Vizcaíno: 22 de Noviembre 1603. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 60 and copies cited therein.

7. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Manuscrito 3203, Derrotero desde el Cabo Mendocino al puerto de Acapulco hecho por P. Fray Antonio de la Ascensión: 1603. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 52 and copies cited therein.

8. See Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 12-15, 105-120.

9. The fabled Seven Cities of Cibola and Kingdom of Quivira were sought by Spanish explorers since their first mention by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in 1636 and Fray Marcos de Niza in 1538.

10. The *Santa Ana* was the Manila galleon of 1587 captured by Thomas Cavendish at Cabo San Lucas on November 14 of that year. Its loss was the greatest sustained by Spain in two centuries of trans-Pacific navigation. See Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 18-24; and W. Michael Mathes, ed., *The Capture of the Santa Ana, Cabo San Lucas, November 1587* (Los Angeles, 1969), *passim*.

11. Until the late eighteenth century most geographers held to the belief that, since a strait existed around the South American continent joining the Atlantic and Pacific, so also there must exist such a strait around North America. The strait in the north was referred to as the Strait of Anian and was not only long sought but was also "discovered" by several apocryphal navigators. See Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 12-14, 50-52, 118-119 and works cited therein.

12. A.G.I., México 207, Carta escrita al Rey por P. Fray Antonio de la Ascensión: 18 de Junio 1608. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 80.

13. A.G.I., México 1065-T.6., Real Cédula en favor de Sebastián Vizcaíno: 27 de Septiembre 1608. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 83 and copies cited therein.

14. A.G.I., México 1065-T.5., Real Cédula sobre P. Fray Antonio de la Ascensión: 14 de Abril 1609. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 87.

15. Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 25-43. For full information relative to the Cardona enterprise see Sanford A. Mosk, "The Cardona Company and the pearl fisheries of Lower California," *Pacific Historical Review*, III (1934), 50-61; and, W. Michael Mathes, ed., *Documentos para la historia de la explotación comercial de California: 1611-1679* (Madrid, 1970), documentos 1-21, 32, 39-40, 43, 76, 99.

16. For a full account of Spilbergen's activities in New Spain see Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 154-159.
17. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Manuscrito 3042. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 177 and copies cited therein.
18. The head of the Gulf of California is in 32° north latitude but since California was commonly thought of as an island, little concern for accurate latitude in the gulf was shown.
19. The area of San Bernabé (Cabo San Lucas) is extremely barren with only seasonal rainfall and plant life restricted to pitahaya cactus and desert brush. While some dove, rabbits and quail are to be found in the area they are not in abundance and the salt deposit described by Fray Antonio is not in existence at the present time, nor is there evidence of such a deposit having existed.
20. Ambergris is the vomitus of whales, highly prized for the manufacture of perfumes.
21. Monterey Bay, named in honor of the Viceroy by Sebastián Vizcaíno, was considered by its discoverer to be the best port in California for a resting station for Manila galleons. Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 94, 98, 105, 108-109.
22. References are to the Roosevelt Elk, Abalone, and sea otter.
23. This was reported by the survivors of the *Tres Reyes* under Esteban López who had separated from Vizcaíno's ship, the *San Diego*, on January 5, 1603, in a violent storm, and was not experienced by Fray Antonio aboard the *San Diego*. Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 98, 102, 104.
24. The myth of a lake of gold, El Dorado, was a driving force for Spanish expeditions to New Mexico and Utah as well as to the interior of Venezuela during the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. The towns referred to are the legendary Seven Cities of Cibola.
25. Expeditions to California during most of the seventeenth century were not undertaken at Royal expense and thus failed due to bankruptcy.
26. Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana* (México, 1943), I, 694-725.
27. Drake's return to England in 1580 after his circumnavigation was thought by many to have been made via the strait due to its rapidity.
28. *Documentos para servir a la Historia del Nuevo México*, 1538-1778 (Madrid, 1962), 197-98.
29. A.G.I., Indiferente 451/11, Real Cédula en favor de Pedro Bastán: 8 de Junio 1628. See also, Mathes, *Explotación Comercial*, documento 25.
30. A.G.I., Patronato 30, Real Cédula mandando que se haga la Audiencia de México pareceres sobre las entradas a California: 2 de Agosto 1628. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 179 and copies cited therein.
31. A.G.I., Patronato 30, Primer parecer de Fray Antonio de la Ascensión: 20 de Mayo 1629. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 180 and copies cited therein.
32. A.G.I., Patronato 30, Segundo parecer de Fray Antonio de la Ascensión: 8 de Junio 1629. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 182 and copies cited therein.
33. A.G.I., Patronato 30, Relación de Fray Antonio de la Ascensión: 1629. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 183 and copies cited therein. For a translation and discussion of minor variants in copies of this document see Henry Raup

Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (San Francisco, 1929), 180-273. The map has not yet been located.

34. Witnesses giving testimony were Alfonso Ortiz de Sandoval, Sebastián Gutierrez, Diego de la Nava, Martín de Lezama, Gonzalo de Francia, Juan López de Vicuña all with interest in pearl fishing in the gulf. A.G.I., Patronato 30. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documentos 181, 186, and *Explotación Comercial*, documentos 28, 31, 33, 34 and copies cited therein.

35. A.G.I., Patronato 30, Parecer del Capitán Lope de Argüelles Quiñones: 29 de Junio 1629. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 184 and copies cited therein.

36. A.G.I., Patronato 30, Parecer del Conde del Valle de Orizaba, D. Rodrigo de Vivero: 22 de Diciembre 1631. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 187 and copies cited therein. Vivero had been interim governor of the Philippines and had returned to New Spain via the California coast. See Mathes, *Vizcaino*, 121-134.

37. A.G.I., Patronato 30, Parecer de Enrico Martínez: 30 de Julio 1629. See also *Demarcación Comercial*, documento 185 and copies cited therein. Writing from Huehuetoca, Martínez, a leading savant of sixteenth century New Spain, was employed as chief engineer of the drainage of the lakes of the Valley of Mexico.

38. Martínez, as most leading cartographers of the period, subscribed to the insularity of California.

39. The fishing of pearls drew four voyagers to California between 1615 and 1668 and was the sole cause of interest in California during that period.

40. A.G.I., Patronato 30, Parecer de Fray Antonio de la Ascención: 22 de Marzo 1632. See also, Mathes, *Demarcación Comercial*, 188.

41. A.G.I., Patronato 30, Testimonio y autos hechos por Francisco de Ortega, and, A.G.I., Patronato 30, Demarcaciones y descripciones hechas por Francisco de Ortega: 1632-1636. See also, Mathes, *Explotación Comercial*, documentos 45 and 46 and copies cited therein.

42. Beristain, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana Septentrional*, I, 179. The exact date of birth and death of Fray Antonio is not recorded.

43. Miguel Venegas, *Noticia de la California* (México, 1944), III, 28-88.

44. See: Juan Mateo Mange, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita en la América Septentrional y Diario de las Exploraciones en Sonora* (México, 1926), 117-124; Francisco Javier Clavijero, *Historia de la Antigua o Baja California* (México, 1852), 73-75; and James Burney, *A Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean* (London, 1803-1817), II, 236-256. For a short discussion of Fray Antonio's memorials see: Fernando de Ocaranza, "Verdades, mentiras y fantasías, que fueron escritas por un fraile Carmelita, cuando formó parte del séquito de Sebastián Vizcaino en su segunda entrada a las Californias," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia*, XVII, 232-240; also published in *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, VIII (1937), 590-599.

By Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager

BOOK NOTICES

UNDER THE EDITORSHIP of Glen Dawson and Edwin H. Carpenter, some twenty-two volumes have been designed and printed by the Castle Press in Pasadena in the current Baja California Travels Series. *Kaigi Ibum: a Strange Tale from Overseas, or a New Account of America*, compiled by Maekawa Bunzo and Sakai Junzo, from the narrative of Hatsutaro, a Japanese castaway, and translated by Richard Zumwinkle, assisted by Tadanobu Kawai (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1970, 143 pp, \$12.50), is a lavishly illustrated book. Reproduced in full color, the many plates depict landscapes and details of furniture and dress as observed by Hatsutaro while a castaway in Mazatlan in 1841. Grant Dahlstrom has designed a superlative book which will prove of considerable interest and fascination for all collectors of Western Americana. Hatsutaro, a sailor from Awa, and his shipmates were disabled by a storm at sea and came ashore on the coast of America. After three years abroad he returned to Japan by way of China. Hatsutaro, who had a tremendously dramatic flair, described and pictured animals, cactus, playing cards, and some of the customs of the western American scene with a remarkable flourish.

Compiled by Bunzo and Junzo in 1844, the book is largely based on Hatsutaro's own accounts, but also incorporates data known to them from various western sources. The result of this collaboration produced a unique and perceptive account of Lower California and of Mazatlan at a time when the Japanese, except for the *rangakusha* (researchers), could have known very little about Mexico. The 64 pages of text and Zumwinkle's excellent Introduction, rich in bibliographical notes, adds further enrichment to a most worthwhile publication.

Often lone examples of rare ephemera do not become readily available to that larger audience of scholars keenly interested in their historical content. Now a debt of gratitude is due to the San Diego Public Library for their willingness to share the contents of an original letter, recently purchased, from the Thomas W. Streeter Collection, describing the human struggle, in 1772, on California's first frontier. Issued as Volume 22 in the Baja California Travels Series is the unique and little known *Letter of Luis Jayme, O.F.M., San Diego, October 17, 1772* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1970, 66 pp, \$7.50), translated by the illustrious mission historian and archivist for the Mission Santa Barbara, Maynard Geiger, O.F.M.

Fray Jayme's letter, written the year following the founding of the Mission San Diego de Alcalá, pictures most graphically the difficulties encountered in the newly established Alta California mission foothold. Reverend Geiger points out the significance and importance of Jayme's letter in his splendid Introduction. Geiger takes especial delight in emphasizing the keen satisfaction present-day mission historians now enjoy in having an original letter of Fray Luis Jayme returned to San Diego after an absence of some 198 years. Once again, the skill and craftsmanship of Grant Dahlstrom, at the Castle Press, is evident in the excellent facsimile of the original letter and printing of the complete and erudite translation of Maynard Geiger.

Ephemeral materials filled with the flavor of local "grassroot" history would include *Memories of a Gold Digger*, by W. W. Kallenberger (Garden Grove: R. M. Kallenberger, 11782 Loraleen Street, Ca. 92641, 1970, 55 pp, \$3.66 including postage and sales tax). Personal and little known vignettes spanning the history of the Malakoff hydraulic mining endeavors in North Bloomfield, Nevada County, contain the reminiscences of W. W. Kallenberger, a mining engineer, whose profession took him to Mexico, the Mojave Desert, the Philippines, and home again to California.

Dr. Albert Shumate has once again contributed a most worthwhile and excellent biographical study, this time on George Henry Goddard, *The Life of George Henry Goddard, artist, architect, surveyor, and map maker*, with a preface by Francis P. Farquhar (Berkeley: Keepsake No. 17 issued for the Friends of the Bancroft Library, 1969, 13 pp, Membership \$15.00). The thirteen pages, with a splendid folding map in the pocket, present a vitally needed study on an amazingly talented man. As a surveyor and map maker Goddard has left a greatly appreciated legacy for students of the California scene.

American Indian Authors: a Representative Bibliography, compiled by Arlene B. Hirschfelder (New York: Association of American Indian Affairs, Inc., 432 Park Avenue South, N.Y. 10016, 1970, 45 pp, \$1.00), is arranged alphabetically by author with brief annotations and also includes a listing of authors by tribe. Certainly a worthwhile item to add to one's shelf of bibliographic materials!

Good cooks, as well as the most avid of book collectors, will discover a double dividend when they obtain a copy of a small but unique cook book compiled by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas V. Reeve II, of Orange County. The El Camino Bank had the foresight and good fortune to seek out the talented Reeves who had the skill and artistry to bring together two diverse subjects into one tantalizing and tasty combination, *The El Camino Real: Special Occasion Recipes; Dedicated to the 21 California Missions* (Anaheim: El Camino Bank, 203 E. Lincoln Avenue, Ca. 92805, 1970, gratis!).

News of another exciting letter discovery came to light and will be found in *A Letter of Junípero Serra to the Reverend Father Preacher Fray Fermín Francisco de Lasuen: a Bicentennial Discovery*, translated and edited by the Reverend Francis J. Weber (Boston: David R. Godine, 1970, \$5.00), which is now available in a handsome format.

Much speculation and too much erroneous information has been dispersed over the years concerning the inauguration of western America's largest metropolis. Now a thorough examination of these many diverse accounts will be found in *The Founding of the Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles, A Study in Historiography*, compiled by Reverend Francis J. Weber (Los Angeles: The Plantin Press, 1970, 14 pp, \$15.00). Within Weber's fact-filled pages it is easy to discover how the fanciful tales gained embellishment over the years, and are now at long last honestly appraised. Handsomely designed and printed in a most limited edition of only 250 copies by Saul and Lillian Marks, this will be a most highly desired item for collectors and reference libraries.

The flavor and drama of California's Bicentennial still lingers and more so when such exciting publications as Kibbey M. Horne's fine *A History of the Presidio of Monterey, 1770 to 1970* (Monterey: Defense Language Institute, West Coast Branch, 1970, 58 pp.), make their appearance. Well illustrated and designed by Bruce Ariss, this is a well researched and planned tribute to Monterey's 200th Anniversary.

The City of Monterey Planning Commission has issued another desirable collection of splendid illustrations and photographs which have been gathered together in tribute

to lovely historic Monterey, *A Brief History of Old Monterey* (Monterey: Colonial Press, 1969, 113 pp.).

Of especial interest to historians and librarians will be *History of the Monterey Bay Area: a Selected Bibliography on the Occasion of California's Bicentennial*, compiled by the Monterey Bay Area Cooperative Library System (Monterey: Monterey Public Library, 1969, 48 pp.). This bibliography covers the "History of Early Monterey," "Monterey," "Natural History," and contains material on Biography, Fiction, and a special list for juvenile readers.

Mini-book *aficiandos* will meet head-on with the avid coterie of "Dawson Book Shop" imprint collectors when they attempt to secure the latest addition to the miniature book field, *Up 65 Years to Larchmont*, by Francis J. Weber (Los Angeles: Bela Blau, 1970, 30 pp, \$6.00). Measuring but 1" by 1½", it is bound in deep-green leather by Bela Blau, who also hand-set, printed, and bound the text of this delightful "Tom Thumb" edition recounting, in telescopic fashion, the various moves of Dawson's Book Shop, from South Broadway in 1905 to its present location at 535 North Larchmont Boulevard.

50 Years in Death Valley—Memoirs of a Borax Man, by Harry P. Gower (San Bernardino: Death Valley 49'ers, 1970, 145 pp, \$2.95), is entertaining and rich in anecdotes of personalities and events about a desert Gower knew and loved. Gower was the initial founder of the present Borax Museum located in Death Valley. His *Memoirs* are enhanced with rare and excellent photographs. Gower's book deserves a place in those collections devoted to the study of the great American Desert and particularly to those devoted to Death Valley and its rich historical background.

Peter McIntyre's West, by Peter McIntyre (Menlo Park: 1970, \$19.50), will prove a delight to read again and again. The editors of *Sunset Magazine*, *Lane Magazine* and Book Company, commissioned McIntyre to tour the American West and record his impressions through the medium of paintings, drawings, and jottings of his own personal commentary for publication. His 20,000-mile journey provides an amazing wealth of view points and pictorial splendor. The pen-descriptions, at times, rival the brilliant colors of his palette. Indeed, Mr. McIntyre wields not only a facile brush but also an exceptionally descriptive pen. This is, indeed, a very unusual book on the American West as seen through the eyes of a New Zealand artist.

This Uncommon Heritage: the Paul Masson Story, by Robert Lawrence Balzer (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1970, 118 pp, \$8.95), may be titled "Uncommon Heritage," but it is a most uncommon book! The etching by Leon Lhermitte (French, 1844-1925), from the Norman N. Fromm Collection decorates the rich purple-hued cloth cover and within is a profusion of strikingly effective black and white as well as color photographs by Ansel Adams and Balzer. This Ritchie-designed book needs no nomination to become a most coveted and desired part of any collection whether devoted to the study of Viticulture or California. Simply to own *This Uncommon Heritage* for the pure joy of acquiring a truly beautiful book should be reason enough!

Mark Twain and J. Ross Browne proved, quite adequately, that historical reporting need not be a dullish bore. The arrival of *Jim Sleeper's 1st Orange County Almanac of Historical Oddities, 1889-1971*, not only brings a massive grouping of relevant and irrelevant facts but provides an opportunity to thoroughly enjoy the small investment of \$2.25 (postpaid) for this titillating and humorous compendium of historic facts. Sleeper (born in 1927) claims he's spent 43 years preparing this unusual 96 page *Almanac* dealing with such subjects as: "Life in the 70's" (the 1870's, that is), "Who Did What First," "Art in Orange County," and "Those Pesky Riverside Winds," to mention but a few. For the residents of Orange County and for the non-resident, as

well—discover the history that made Orange County the way it is! (Box 291, Trabuco Canyon, Ca. 92678, 1971).

Sometimes in the collecting of Californiana or Western Americana the fields of fictional or juvenile writing are overlooked. Augusta Fink, author of *Time and the Terraced Land*, history of the Palos Verdes Peninsula, gathered together her many notes and from them has created a highly readable story for readers in the Junior High School level, *To Touch the Sky* (San Carlos: Golden Gate Junior Books, 1970, 104 pp, \$4.95). Miss Fink has created an intriguing tale based on the Indian and rancho days. The story of the strong bond of friendship that grew and developed between Cristobal and Mactutu, the Indian, and of life at the Missions San Luis Rey and San Gabriel, and of the large ranchos of Palos Verdes and San Pedro are well described and pictured for the younger reader.

Verde to San Carlos: Recollections of a Famous Army Surgeon and his Observant Family on the Western Frontier, 1869-1886, by William T. Corbusier (Tucson: Dale Stuart King Publisher, 1969, 31 pp, \$25.00), is a volume filled with a variety of notes and personal recollections brought together over the years by Colonel Corbusier and his youngest son, the author. The five Corbusier sons were brought up under the continual strain of Indian warfare and the hardships of the arid regions of the West. An officer's family, especially a medical officer's, entered very intimately into all of an Army camp's activities and unofficially knew more than the commanding officer. Much of the material and illustration is based on personal records still retained in the Corbusier family and upon those reminiscences written, many years later, by Dr. Corbusier. The *Recollections* cover Forts Washakie, Laramie, Fetterman, Sheridan, Garland, Reno, and Grant and Camps Winnemucca and McDermit. Material is to be found on the Yuvapai and Apache, the Colorado River of the early 1870's, the Rio Verde Agency and Bowie in 1884. This is a worthy addition to the growing records of military life, viewed not only from the viewpoint of Dr. Corbusier but also of his wife, and incorporates some of the notes and memoirs of their five sons.

A vivid and fascinating study of the historical background of any geographic area can be obtained readily through the perusal of bibliographies. Several excellent and stimulating bibliographies have recently been published, and notable among them would be: *Arizona Odyssey: Bibliographic Adventures in Nineteenth-Century Magazines*, by David M. Goodman (Tempe: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1969, 360 pp, \$9.00). Mr. Goodman's work provides just that, "a bibliographic adventure," for the reader, student or collector. Good bibliographies provide clues to other sources and Mr. Goodman's is a most tantalizing one! Holdings in numerous museums, libraries, military and church libraries, as well as in private libraries, have been diligently searched for items to fill in the wide gap of 19th century magazines dealing with Arizoniana source items. For a young state Arizona has certainly enjoyed a plethora of visitors and residents who recorded, in countless magazines and pamphlets, their experiences and views.

A stimulating boost to book collecting arrived with the latest publication of Reverend Francis J. Weber's *A Select Los Angeles Bibliography, 1872-1970* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1970, 44 pp, \$7.50). This small but immensely valuable study presents a clear cut "bookish" portrait of the past and present-day history of Los Angeles. W. W. Robinson, foremost authority on southern California, contributed the fine Foreword. Reverend Weber has appraised 250 titles dealing exclusively with Los Angeles. It is irksome to point out that only 250 copies of this invaluable bibliography are available for the book collecting public and libraries.

A Bibliographic Odyssey (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1969, 32 pp, \$5.00), also by Francis J. Weber, commemorates the formal dedication of the *Bibliotheca*

Montereyensis-Angelorum Dioeceseos, which took place in historic San Fernando Mission, November 21, 1969. The history and background of the work involved in bringing together this outstanding collection of mission archival material is well presented. This bibliographic gem will gain in stature and importance in light of the recent tragic and disastrous San Fernando Valley earthquake which affected not only the old mission but also the fine library assembled so lovingly by Father Weber.

A History of the Chinese in California: a Syllabus, edited by Thomas W. Chinn with Associate Editors H. Mark Lai and Philip P. Choy (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1969, 82 pp, \$5.00), is one of the very worthwhile studies undertaken by the Chinese Historical Society located in San Francisco and carried to fruition in this Lawton and Alfred Kennedy printing. Various trades, industries, and community developments are well presented along with maps and valuable tables giving population and immigration trends in the United States of the Chinese. This publication is the perfect companion piece to *The Chinese in California, a Brief Bibliographic History*, by Hansen and Heintz.

Book Reviews

In Pursuit of American History. By Walter Rundell, Jr. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970. 445 pp, \$7.95.)

Reviewed by JOHN A. SCHUTZ, Professor of History at the University of Southern California, who has served for two decades as secretary-treasurer of the American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch.

The preparation of historians is often a mystery to those outside the profession observing the training of graduates, and it also baffles some history professors who find their methods and observations difficult to justify when they are under attack. The lack of scientific procedures used by other disciplines troubles many historians, but revisions of their works by younger colleagues who find new ideas in well turned leaves of manuscripts is an unsettling experience for ego and reputation. The strange ways of historians have given rise to many explanations, but this new evaluation of the profession by Walter Rundell, author of two other books and chairman of the Iowa State University history department, concentrates upon the training of American historians through an analysis of the opinions and practices of 557 individuals in 112 institutions. The emphasis of the book is well described in its title—*In Pursuit of American History*—in the study of method, research tools, sources, relations of historians and librarians, and research needs. Little or nothing, however, is presented on the academic market place and its relations to research, the ethical standards of historians, history as a dialectic, or the teaching of history.

With the lack of attention to these topics, the book has an unreal quality about it. Since historians are notoriously embroiled in professional politics, success in the profession too often reflects the power of a student's major professor, the prestige of his university, and the vitality of its recruiting system. Positions flow frequently in the direction of candidates from a well established university or professor, and opportunities many times have little relation to the originality of the student's research or ability. Sometimes the student is aided in his professional advancement because his

university has a prestigious press. In short, a discussion of method, research libraries, and mechanical aids, etc., must be put into perspective with a discussion of the market place. These centers of prestige and power were built up over decades, and these, with their libraries, professors, presses, and traditions, exercise influence over research, publication, and advancement. To write of historical training without reference to them tells only part of the story of the pursuit of American history.

Even with this dynamic part of the profession missing from his narrative, the author manages to convey the vigorous quality of graduate instruction. The interviewing of 557 professors, librarians, archivists, and graduate students provides an excellent cross section of opinion concerning the professional problems surveyed. The impression one gets of the survey is that of registering great professional diversity on all subjects and a superabundance of activity. The results themselves raise questions about the informational value of the survey. Except for the individualization of opinions the results seem predictable. Historians disagree on almost every conceivable professional practice. These opinions and practices were not tabulated in most cases, so that the author's common sense rises above the smoke of combat. Much of what he records could have been done without such exhaustive traveling and interviewing. Some of his unwritten impressions of historians, their offices and laboratories, projects, and university affiliations might be more valuable in determining the health and vitality of the profession than what he wrote, but, of course, to reveal these impressions might have brought down criticism and denunciation.

The author presents a good mirror of the history profession and has involved in his narrative most of the major writers of history. In California he visited four branches of the University of California, the University of Southern California, Stanford University, and the Huntington Library, and he spoke with more than twenty-five scholars. He has skillfully woven these opinions into a well presented, precisely written discussion of professional problems. The value of the book rests with the analysis of opinion and historical experience and, perhaps, the book may become a document of importance later in registering the names and observations of historians in the late 1960s.

In Memoriam

DWIGHT L. CLARKE

The official publication of the Occidental Life Insurance Company carried these lines as a heading on its front page, "Thirty-five years of distinguished and devoted service to Occidental Life came to a close on Sunday evening, February 7 with the death of Dwight L. Clarke, a Director of the company and its President from 1944 through 1950."

But this is not all. He was born in Berkeley, California, some fifteen years before the turn of the century, and educated at the University of California at Berkeley and Hastings Law School. After ten years of banking experience in San Francisco, he moved to Bakersfield where he joined a bank which was later absorbed by The Bank of Italy—now Bank of America. This brought him in contact with and under the watchful eyes of A. P. Giannini, his brother, Dr. Giannini, and son, L. M. Giannini. Within that organization, he became Executive Vice President in charge of all of the banks in southern California, some 90 branches.

In the middle of the 1930's when L. M. Giannini was searching for an able and trusted man to manage Occidental Life, he selected Dwight, who got the job in spite of the reluctance of A. P. Giannini, who valued his services in the bank and disliked losing him.

His record at Occidental can best be summed up by the statistics which reflect that when he came to Occidental in 1936 the company operated in 23 states and territories and 6 Canadian provinces, had \$210 million of life insurance in force and assets of \$24 million and was the 48th largest of American and Canadian companies in terms of insurance in force. At his retirement, it was operating in 18 additional jurisdictions, had \$2.7 billion of life insurance in force and assets of \$278 million and was the 17th largest.

While achieving distinction as a life insurance executive, he devoted his time and talent to a host of civic, cultural, charitable, and educational enterprises such as Occidental College, Loyola University, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, American Cancer Society, The Community Redevelopment Agency of Los Angeles, and others. A second generation Californian, he had an enthusiastic and intense interest in his native state and in the American West, as evidenced by the fact that he was a member of Zamorano Club, Sierra Club, California Historical Society, and other similar groups. Among the distinguished offices he held was that of Trustee of the California Historical Society.

During his retirement years, he devoted much time to these interests and offered works such as *General Stephen Watts Kearny, Soldier of the West*; *William Tecumseh Sherman, Gold Rush Banker*; and the *Original Journals of Henry Smith Turner*. Each of these works is a scholarly piece evidencing exhaustive research and documentation. The latest of his writings, published in the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, is entitled "The Gianninis, Men of the Renaissance," which is a valuable addition to the printed knowledge of the great California business leaders of that name. During these retirement years, with his eyesight failing, he persistently pursued his research through the aid of Mrs. Clarke, who was his seeing eye, and as she read to him from the records, he made his notes.

Although he was a man of strong conviction, I never heard him utter an unkind word about anyone, regardless of how heated the discussion. Dwight was a man for all seasons and his leaving creates a void in the business, civic, and intellectual communi-

ties that will be difficult to fill. All of us share in the loss of this good, able, and dedicated man who leaves so much of himself with those who knew him.

And now I close with those few Spanish words so meaningful and beautiful, *adios, hasta la vista*—good-bye, till we meet again.

EARL C. ADAMS

EDGAR MYRON KAHN

EDGAR MYRON KAHN, a devoted member of the California Historical Society since 1932, died in San Francisco at Children's Hospital on December 26, 1970. Born in San Francisco on November 24, 1904, he was a life-time resident of the city he loved so dearly. His parents were Ira and Marie (Clayburgh) Kahn. He was survived by his wife, Ann, a daughter, Marjorie Ann, (Mrs. Harold Reed) of New York City, and a son, Kenneth, of San Francisco.

Edgar attended Madison School, Lowell High School, and received his B.S. from Stanford University in 1925. He then attended Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. Returning to San Francisco in 1928, he, like his father, chose the investment business as his profession. After twelve years' association with the investment house of J. Barth and Company, a firm founded by his great uncle, he opened his own office as an investment counselor.

Philanthropist and civic leader, his activities were many and varied. He was an honorary member of the St. Andrew's Society, a member of the National Board of Directors of the American Jewish Committee, and a past Director of the San Francisco Salvation Army, the San Francisco Cable Car Museum, the Gleeson Library of the University of San Francisco, and the World Affairs Council. He also had served as a President of the Public Education Society. His memberships included the Arboretum Society, the Businessmen's Garden Club, Fidelity Lodge No. 120, F. & A. M., Scottish Rite, Islam Temple of the Shrine, Commonwealth Club, B'nai B'rith, Engineers Club, and the Concordia-Argonaut Club. He was a life member of the California Academy and a former President of the Northern California Harvard Business School Club.

Edgar's cultural interests were also exemplified in his sponsorship of the San Francisco Opera Association and the San Francisco Symphony Association. He was a long-time member of the Chit Chat Club, the Book Club of California, and of the Roxburge Club of San Francisco, serving the latter as its Master of the Press in 1945-46.

He loved California and wanted its beauty preserved. He was a life member of the Sierra Club and the Save-The-Redwoods League. He enjoyed hiking and knew the high Sierra as well as his beloved Tamalpais, the "enchanted mountain," as he referred to it in a book he edited in 1946.

As an author he was best known for his popular *Cable Car Days in San Francisco*, first published by Stanford University Press in 1940. Other publications included *Bret Harte in California* and two books relating to Andrew S. Hallidie. Edgar's interest in the inventor of the cable car, Hallidie, led him to form the "Friends of Andrew Smith Hallidie," which resulted, in 1952, in the placing of a state plaque in his honor in Portsmouth Plaza. He admired greatly Robert Louis Stevenson and for many years organized R.L.S. birthday ceremonies at Stevenson Monument in Portsmouth Plaza.

As an historian he was greatly interested in the welfare of the California Historical Society. Not only did he serve as a Trustee of the Society from 1958 to 1965, but diligently worked on numerous committees. These included the Membership Committee

(1943-1958—the last year as chairman), the Editorial Committee (1952-58), Chairman of the Public Relations Committee (1958), Chairman of the Program Committee (1958-60), and from 1962 until his death, the Historic Names and Sites Committee (1962-63 as Chairman). The marking of the Conservatory in Golden Gate Park as a California Historical Landmark was largely the result of his efforts. The dedication ceremony on November 19, 1970, was the last public appearance of this devoted worker.

Having known and admired Edgar since boyhood days, I believe Rabbi Joseph Asher of the Congregation Emanu-El portrayed him during the Memorial Services on December 29, 1970, in a most graphic manner: "The image that is most vivid in my mind as I think of Edgar Kahn is of a man who personified culture, civility, dignity, and gentility." And, after speaking of the public portion of Edgar's life, he continued, "The love for his wife and family, the peace and tranquility he experienced in their midst, the joys he sensed in his home, which itself is a symbol of the elegant past, were the source from which his energy and loyalty sprang."

ALBERT SHUMATE, M.D.

WALTER L. SCHUBERT

I met Walter Schubert only once. He was a quiet, gentle man. We sat next to each other at a luncheon honoring the discovery of San Francisco Bay. Between the speeches and the toasts, we talked. He was a good man to talk to, soft spoken, interested in life, and in possession of a pleasant sense of humor. He did not talk much about himself; from what I understand, he seldom did. But he acted.

One of his actions was a gift to the California Historical Society, a gift which made possible the purchase of the building in which the Library is housed, Schubert Hall. The hall is not named for Mr. Schubert; he asked that it be named for his sister, Miss Otilie Schubert. Her portrait hangs in the main entry to the Library. She is a very beautiful woman. There is an aura of gentleness and quiet dignity about her portrait that I remember about the person of her brother. I understand that California history was one of her major interests; that is why Walter Schubert asked that the hall be named for her.

His gift was a kind and generous one, a thoughtful gift, not only for his sister but for the many people who benefit from the use of Schubert Hall, approximately 6000 per year. Few people have the opportunity to give such a gift. Not always do they give so quietly and so generously. Walter Schubert was an unusual man.

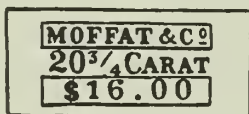
He was born in Chicago but came to California early in his life. There must have been something of the romantic in him. He worked on a sailing ship for a time in his youth. He mined in Montana. He did some surveying in California. And he was one of the first men to start trucking produce from the Salinas Valley to Oakland. In later years he worked for the Railway Express. In 1963 he retired to a home in Lafayette.

The story is a simple one, if any life is simple. He did not stride upon the stage and seek to dominate the scene. But when he died on February 3, 1971, at seventy-six years of age, he left all of us who are interested in California history, considerably better off than when he came.

PETER A. EVANS

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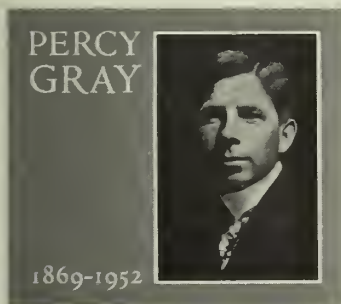
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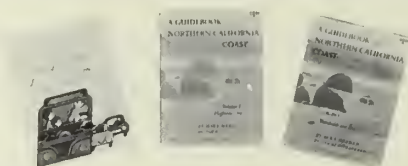


PERCY GRAY: AN ARTIST AND HIS TIMES

TO ACCOMPANY THE RECENT major exhibition at the California Historical Society of the life and works of Percy Gray, one of California's most notable landscape painters, Donald C. Whitton has published (in cooperation with CHS) a book on Gray that is much more than the usual exhibition catalogue.

Percy Gray, 1869-1952 represents a full-length treatment of both the artist and his milieu. A 96-page book in the sturdy and handsome 8 x 9 inch soft-cover format that has become customary for excellently printed art books, *Percy Gray* features 119 illustrations, eleven of them in full color. Donald C. Whitton, a grand-nephew of Gray, and Robert E. Johnson are the co-authors. Joseph A. Baird, Jr., has contributed the preface and Thomas Albright the introduction. Lewis Ferbraché has written the notable epilogue on Percy Gray's environment and contemporaries.

This limited edition book is available through the California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, California 94109, at \$5.95. Mail orders will be accepted and filled promptly, but California residents should be sure to add 5½% sales tax to their check.



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A Note from the Editor

THIS ISSUE OF THE *California Historical Quarterly* bulks larger than the standard number because it contains two CHS centennial features—a bibliography of our one hundred years of publication effort and a pictorial showing some of the aspects of California when CHS was founded 100 years ago.

The bibliography of publications was made possible by a generous donation from Earl C. Adams, of San Marino. This same bibliography, in an elegant hard cover edition, is now available to members of CHS. Titled *The First Hundred Years*, it has been printed in a limited edition of 350 copies on Tweedweave Text by letterpress, and you may reserve a copy by sending \$7.93 (\$7.50 plus tax and postage) to CHS, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco 94109.

We particularly urge you to purchase your copy now, as the edition is not only limited but all proceeds from the sale of the centennial bibliography will be used to publish supplementary material in future *Quarterlies*. In this way we hope to build a fund to make the *Quarterly* more responsive to such special needs as the publication of catalogues to go with special exhibitions of the Society.

While we are speaking of books and the support of CHS publications, we will again call attention to the recent new edition of *El Molino Viejo*—the history of our Southern California quarters. *El Molino* is now available in not only the hard cover edition (\$5.00 including tax) but also in a handsome soft cover at \$2.95 (including tax). We urge you to add one of these editions to your library while they are still available.

In order to provide substantial member discounts while keeping our book inventory within bounds, we are offering discounts to members only on a pre-publication basis. *El Molino* was initially offered at \$3.80 (hard cover, not including tax and postage); *The First Hundred Years* will cost \$10.00 (plus tax and postage) after September 1.

While we regret imposing a time limit on member purchases at member discount, we are in the happy position of pointing out that pre-publication purchase of every book that CHS publishes this year will offer you a *saving* roughly equivalent to the cost of the regular active membership. A bonus that cannot be measured in money is the support of your CHS publication program.

ROGER OLMSTED

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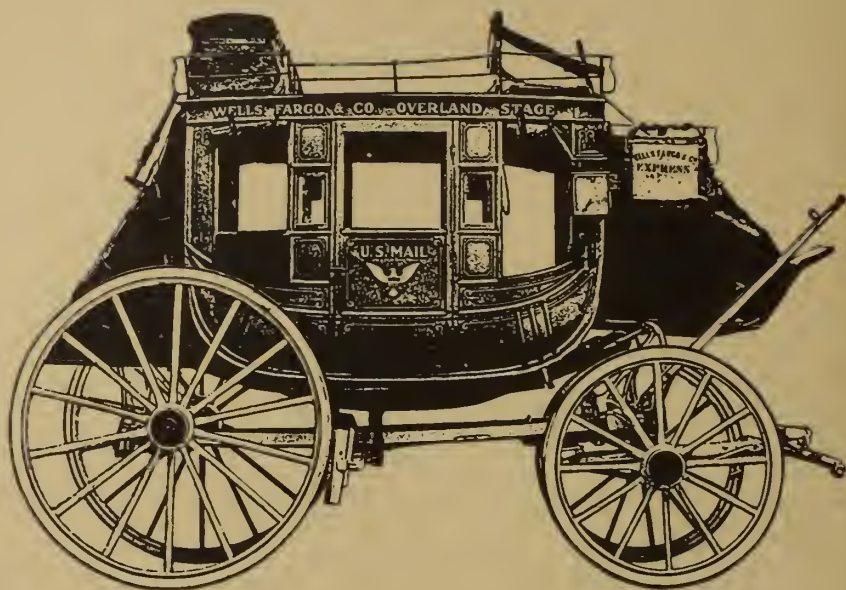
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This special issue of the *California Historical Quarterly* has been published with the assistance of a grant from Security National Bank, Oakland, California.

COVER: from *The San Francisco Illustrated Wasp*, December 8, 1877. *The Wasp*, perhaps the first substantial periodical in the nation regularly to publish lithographed drawings in color, was launched in 1876 by the Korbel interests, at that time a lithographic firm printing box labels, and not long after the notable wine and brandy makers who carry the name to this day. This was the first "socko" anti-Chinese cartoon in *The Wasp*, a journal which at this time as often deplored the drift of anti-Chinese sentiment. Whatever one may feel about "The First Blow at the Chinese Question," it is indeed to be deplored that there is not a single magazine in the West today which can offer up topical covers as good as the old *Wasp* drawings which have appeared on the June and September *CHQ*. Inside we offer a stinging selection of *Wasp* cartoons—and in the future we will no doubt present other selections from the journal that for a time served as platform for the arcane wit of Ambrose Bierce. (Cartoon courtesy of the Bancroft Library.)

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Chairman of the Department of
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College, Oakland; this essay, and those
by Forbes, Choy, and Guzman, are
based on lectures sponsored by CHS
and University Extension, University
of California, Berkeley, in a series
organized by Mr. Wollenberg.

Ethnic Experiences in California History: An Impressionistic Survey

The doctrine of "separate but equal" established by the United States Supreme Court in 1896 has never been a very accurate description of race relations in America. Although there has been a good deal of social separation, whites and non-whites always have been integral parts of the same economic, political and cultural system. But non-whites never have had an equal or proportionate share of the wealth, power and influence in that system. This has been as true for California as for the nation as a whole; thus, the title of this study: Neither Separate nor Equal.

CALIFORNIA HISTORY provides an excellent case-study of America's multi-ethnic heritage, for no state, with the possible exception of Hawaii, has a more varied tradition of ethnic experience than California. Inter-ethnic relations and conflict have existed here for more than two centuries and have involved Indians, Europeans, Asians, Mexicans and blacks. But before examining California's tradition of ethnic experience, it is necessary to put the subject into the larger context of American history.

It is true that a strong historical movement toward cultural uniformity does exist in the United States, stimulated by the obvious necessities of a single political and economic system, by social and psychological pressures toward conformity, and by technological developments, particularly in transportation and communication. However, there also exists a tough, countervailing tendency toward maintenance of ethnic separation: the attempt of many ethnic, religious, and national minorities to maintain separate identities without sacrificing equal access to justice, status, and material well-being. The tension between these two conflicting social movements is one of the great motivating forces in our history, and often it is

manifested by sharp prejudices and hostilities between various groups. Usually, we call these social divisions conflicts between the "majority" and the "minority," but in reality we are all members of some ethnic, religious, or national minority. Even white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants, certainly the most influential group in our society, are a numerical minority. It should be obvious, then, that ethnic experience is a major theme in American history.

Yet for much of the twentieth century, American historians gave little attention to ethnic matters. The end of Reconstruction and the establishment of strict immigration laws seemed to settle ethnic issues once and for all. The Depression heightened interest in class rather than ethnic conflict, and World War II and the Cold War focused attention on real or alleged threats from abroad that seemed to unite all Americans. But the Civil Rights Movement of the late 1950's and early 1960's changed the national perspective. Attention was directed back to domestic affairs and particularly to race relations. The aggressive assertions of black people, even to the point of urban rebellion and avowedly revolutionary activity, had a dramatic effect on other groups in American society. Students and intellectuals adopted the tactics and rhetoric of the Civil Rights Crusade for their own protests and movements. "Non-white" minorities gained a greater sense of group identification and political militancy. Even some European ethnics, seeing the rise of non-white groups as a threat to their status and economic security, reacted with a new sense of ethnic pride and solidarity of their own. Revolutionary movements in Africa and Latin America further heightened group consciousness among black and Spanish-speaking people in the United States, while crises in the Middle East had a similar effect on Jewish-Americans. As ethnic matters became of increasing concern to most Americans, American historians again turned to an examination of ethnic experience in the past.

Such an examination was particularly needed in the Far West, and most particularly in California. Traditionally, the history of the region is treated as an "Anglo" drama, centering on the experience of native born, white Protestants. Moses Rischin has observed that only in the Far West is the word "immigration" often used to refer to the movement of Americans from east to west rather than the movement of foreigners to America.

But lack of coverage does not mean that ethnic or immigrant minorities have not had a rich heritage of experience in California. As early as 1850, about one-quarter of the state's population was foreign born (born outside of California or the United States). By 1860 the figure was nearly 40%, and as late as 1910, 68% of San Francisco's population was foreign-born or children of at least one foreign-born parent. Throughout California's history a substantial portion of this foreign born population has been "non-white," and added to this have been significant numbers of native-born minority group members. The 1970 census will show that about four

million Californians are "non-white," including more than two million of Mexican descent, at least one million blacks and about five hundred thousand Asians.

The California Indians probably have had the most unique and devastating experience of all ethnic groups in the state. Indians were the original inhabitants and thus had to be formally conquered and colonized. They were expected to adopt the culture of their conquerors, yet their own hunting-and-gathering way of life and the social and spiritual values it engendered made the adjustment to western ways extraordinarily difficult. But in spite of its unique features, the Indian experience is the forerunner of important themes that also characterize experiences of other non-white groups. Indians served as California's first non-white agricultural labor force. Like other groups, they were victims of formalized discrimination. Under American rule, they, like Asians and blacks, were denied the right to vote, hold office, and testify against whites in court.

Technically, Indians were a majority under Spanish-Mexican rule, but the Spanish minority appropriated for itself the entire social and political power in California. Spanish society throughout the New World consisted of a small "master-class" supported by large numbers of non-European workers, and California was no exception. The Franciscan missions not only converted Indians to Christianity, but also trained Indians to serve as agricultural workers. This involved a complete transformation of Indian way of life, a process which had tragic consequences. European diseases and social dislocation took a tremendous toll in Indian lives, and whole cultures were destroyed or drastically altered.

In 1833 the Mexican government "secularized" the missions; the Friars were stripped of their temporal control over the land, while Indians were declared free and equal citizens of the new Mexican nation. In reality, secularization simply allowed private land owners, the California *rancheros*, to obtain title to the old mission properties. Some of the mission Indians went along with the land to become workers on the new *ranchos*. Others returned to their pre-European ways of life, and still others simply died without heirs, as the general Indian population decline continued. But there was some flexibility in Indian-European relations during these years. Sexual and cultural mixture did take place, and some Indian *vaqueros* on the *ranchos* spoke Spanish, wore European clothes, married *mestizas* and thus passed from the Indian to the Mexican world. Even some "wild Indians," living outside the immediate area of Spanish-Mexican control, began planting crops and riding horses.

Any hope of large-scale sexual or cultural fusion was doomed by the American conquest and the Gold Rush. Unlike the Spanish and Mexicans, or even the Yankees who had obtained Mexican land grants before 1846,

most Anglo-Americans who came after the discovery of gold did not need Indians as a source of labor. Individualistic miners, merchants, and farmers had no desire to compete against entrepreneurs who controlled large numbers of non-white workers, and when such entrepreneurs did arrive on the scene, they preferred Asian to Indian labor. The American settlers also brought fears and prejudices bred from long conflict with Indians on the frontier. Miners poured into areas formerly left unsettled by whites and thus disrupted previously undistributed Indian cultures. Attempts by the federal government to separate whites and Indians or to establish viable reservations were feeble at best. The result was that Hubert Howe Bancroft called "one of the last human hunts of civilization, and the basest and most brutal of them all." By 1880 California's Indian population had been reduced by disease, demoralization, and warfare to about 20,000—less than 10% of the total that existed in 1769 when the Europeans arrived.

In comparison with the Indians, Asian immigrants who came to California in the nineteenth century had an easy time adjusting to the California way of life. Without minimizing the great differences between Asian and Western culture or the great difficulties Asians had in California, it is important that China and Japan, unlike Indian California, had experienced thousands of years of urban and agricultural development. In many respects, the Asian experience in California was like that of immigrants from European societies. But the Chinese and Japanese were non-white, and thus they faced far greater levels of discrimination and prejudice than any European group.

Chinese were the first Asian arrivals, coming as an integral part of the Gold Rush migration of the 1850's. Initially, they were regarded as exotic curiosities, but as they competed against white miners in the gold fields, they became subject to increasing hostility. Thus began the close historical relationship linking economic competition between whites and Asians to anti-Orientalism in California. Chinese in the gold fields suffered mob violence, found it impossible to file valid mining claims, and were forced to pay discriminatory foreign miners' taxes. As a result, they were relegated to jobs white workers would not take, because of low status or low pay. Chinese labor gangs worked over diggings already abandoned by whites. Chinese often were forced to do "women's work": laundry, cooking, and domestic service. They also served as an unskilled labor source for large employers, such as the big railroad and farming interests which did not wish to pay the high wages demanded by whites. By 1870 Chinese accounted for at least ten percent of California's total population, and their numbers were increasing.

The most violent anti-Chinese feeling occurred during the depression years of the 1870's. Growing numbers of white workers now were forced to compete with Chinese immigrants for even the lowest paying jobs, and

thus the Asians became convenient scapegoats for conditions of unemployment and low wages. A major race riot in Los Angeles resulted in nineteen Chinese deaths, and similar, though less deadly, incidents occurred in other parts of the state. The Chinese issue often divided white society along class lines, with groups such as Denis Kearney's Workingman's Party proclaiming "the Chinese must go!" and large employers such as the railroad defending the Chinese presence. The issue also became an inter-ethnic rivalry between the state's two largest immigrant groups, the Chinese and the Irish. While some people of Irish descent had become wealthy and powerful figures in California, most Irish immigrants were manual laborers, threatened both by depression and Chinese competition. Irish workers gave strong support to the actions of Kearney, himself an Irish immigrant. Finally, in 1882 Congress prohibited further Chinese immigration to the United States, the first instance of significant immigration restriction in American history. However, formal discrimination, mob violence, and labor hostility continued to plague the Chinese for the rest of the nineteenth century.

Japanese immigration to California began on a large scale in the two decades following Chinese exclusion. Japanese were filling the demand for cheap labor created by the ending of Chinese immigration. It was natural that Japanese would inherit much of the anti-orientalism previously aimed at Chinese, since in addition to physical similarities, the two groups offended many of the same economic interests. However, there were important differences in the nature of the Chinese and Japanese immigrations. A greater portion of Japanese apparently came for the purpose of settling in California and making it their home. Thus, they were more apt eventually to bring a wife, raise a family, and invest in a farm or business. The Japanese came from a country which, unlike China at that time, was becoming an industrialized world power. This probably helped Japanese adjust to the dynamic social environment of California which was not totally unlike that of Japan. Moreover, Japan's status as a nation to be reckoned with in world affairs gave the Japanese government considerable power in protecting the interests of Japanese citizens living abroad.

But many of these apparent advantages only served to increase hostility against the Japanese. The very success Japanese had in adjusting to the California way of life, their ability to invest in farms and small businesses, the achievement of their children in school simply created greater resentment against them. The power and assertiveness of the Japanese government only helped fan the flames of "Yellow Peril," the fear that Japan was engaged in a plot to conquer the entire Pacific Basin. It is not surprising that peaks of anti-Japanese resentment in California coincide with Japanese assertiveness in Asia. The Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907, limiting immigration of unskilled Japanese, and the Alien Land Law of 1913, preventing Jap-

anese from owning additional California farm property, came at times of strained diplomatic relations between Japan and the United States. The second, more restrictive, land law of 1921 again coincided with international tension between the two countries.

Of course, the most dramatic example of California anti-orientalism was the forced removal of all people of Japanese origin from the Pacific Coast in 1942. The relocation clearly cannot be explained without reference to the war and the nature of the attack on Pearl Harbor, but it also cannot be understood without considering the deep fears and stereotypes about Japanese that existed in the American and, particularly, the California mind. Pearl Harbor triggered long-standing prejudices and rivalries; suddenly the Japanese attack made "Yellow Peril" a reality, despite the fact that there was no evidence of mass disloyalty among the Pacific Coast Japanese (sixty percent of whom were citizens of the United States). One of the relocation's ironies was that it came at a time when the Japanese experience in California clearly had become one of the great success stories of American immigration history. Despite discriminatory land legislation, Japanese farmers produced more than a third of the state's total truck crops, and Japanese merchants controlled a large share of the wholesale and retail produce trade in the Los Angeles urban area.

The virtual disappearance of overt anti-orientalism from the surface of California life since World War II is a matter which warrants more study than it has received. The war experience itself probably helped lessen anti-orientalism. There was no reason to fear a defeated Japan or resent the power of a minority which had been forcefully removed, and China had become an ally. But, it is clear that today many of the old fears and stereotypes still exist beneath the surface. China and again Japan are rising to world power status; Japanese exports are causing considerable resentment in some parts of American society; and large-scale Chinese immigration to California has been renewed.

The twentieth-century migration of Mexicans to the state, like the earlier arrivals of Asians, came as a result of California's incessant demand for cheap labor. By the 1920's, Chinese and Japanese had left the lowest paying jobs in agriculture and construction. This exodus coincided with labor shortages caused by World War I and severe restrictions on European immigration. (Immigration from Asia was completely banned, except for the U.S. territory of the Philippines.) At the same time, social revolution was causing chaos and dislocation in Mexico, conditions which stimulated increasing migration across the border. By the mid-twenties, Mexico had become the largest source of foreign immigration for California. Though the depression of the 1930's slowed the tide of immigrants and even resulted in forced "repatriations" of Mexicans back to their homeland, the wartime boom of the 'forties again stimulated both legal and illegal movement across

the border, including the government-sponsored Bracero Program. The war also served to transform California's Mexican population into a largely urban people; by 1943 violent tensions between urban Mexicans and whites in Los Angeles led to the so-called "Pachuco Riots."

Unlike Asians, Mexican immigrants to California were moving into land formerly dominated by Spanish-speaking people. By the end of the nineteenth century, the old *Californios* of Spanish-Mexican days virtually ceased to exist as an identifiable ethnic group. They had been overwhelmed by the tide of Anglo migration. In spite of the protection of their civil and property rights promised by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Spanish-speaking miners suffered severe discrimination in the gold fields, and very few *Californio* families managed to maintain control of rancho land. Some of the old families merged into the Anglo middle and upper classes; others were integrated into the tide of poor Mexican immigrants, but in either case, a distinct old *Californio* group had disappeared by 1900. Nevertheless, the Spanish-speaking heritage of California and the Southwest has given twentieth-century Mexican-Americans an emotional and ideological identification with the region that other immigrant groups have not had.

Mexicans also have been unique as an immigrant group in that they have had little difficulty maintaining contact with the "old country." Mexican immigrants did not have to cross an ocean to get to California, only a land border which never has been much of a barrier to legal or illegal passage. And border crossing of Mexicans always has been a two-way proposition: migrant workers constantly return home, temporary residents go back to Mexico when economic conditions in California worsen, permanent immigrants visit relatives, and children are sent for a vacation stay with grandparents. These contacts have given great strength to the Spanish language and the Mexican way of life in California, and this in turn has created difficulties for young Mexican-Americans caught between the Mexican world of their parents and the Anglo world of school and job.

As an ethnic minority, Mexicans also have been unique in that they officially have been classified as "white" by the Census Bureau. To some degree, this has reflected the fact that Mexicans with European features have been able to call themselves "Spanish" and pass into the Anglo world. But it has not prevented most Mexicans from being treated as "non-white" by the general population; they have experienced the same kind of discrimination in California as black people and Asians. They also have a long tradition of rebellion against such economic and social conditions. The Delano strike was only the latest chapter in the long story of farm labor struggle among California Mexicans which goes back more than forty years. And since the "Pachuco" movement of the 1940's, passivity hardly has been a characteristic of the urban *barrios*.

Like the rapid growth of these *barrios* in recent years, the great migra-

tion of black people to California is largely the result of the economic boom of World War II and the Post-War era. Between 1940 and 1970 the state's black population grew eight-fold. But people of African descent have been in California for more than two centuries. Mulattoes were among the first Spanish arrivals in the 1770's, and larger numbers of blacks came during the Gold Rush. In the 1850's, Afro-Americans already were organizing conventions to petition for the right to vote, hold office and testify in court against whites, rights denied blacks in the "free" state of California before the Civil War. Blacks also protested against California's Fugitive Slave Law. After the Civil War, and again after World War I, there were sizable increases in the state's black population, and by 1940 the outlines of the Watts and West Oakland ghettos already were visible. The labor shortages caused by World War II resulted in concerted efforts by defense contractors to attract black workers to the state. Once the migration began, it grew rapidly, so that by the 1960's California was second only to New York as a recipient of black people leaving the South.

In many respects, the black migration to California can be compared to the immigration of Asians and Mexicans. Often blacks have come from rural, under-developed parts of the South which are not totally unlike the peasant societies of Asia and Mexico. The social shock of adjusting to the urban, technological society of California has for black Southerners been something akin to the experience of immigrant groups adjusting to America itself. Blacks, like Asians and Mexicans in California, have faced the familiar pattern of discrimination in housing, jobs, unions, and schools. The fact that it is *de facto* rather than *de jure* discrimination has made little difference to the victim.

But the black experience in California also has its unique features. Black people came to California with centuries of experience living in white America. Blacks spoke English, belonged to Protestant churches, and had familiarity with the political system. Unlike Asian immigrants who were prohibited by court decisions from becoming citizens, twentieth-century blacks had citizenship in theory, if not always in fact. Perhaps this partially explains why blacks are better represented within the political system than other non-white groups in California.

However, along with these comparative advantages came severe handicaps. Black people have not had the commercial heritage of Asian immigrants. The de-humanizing experience of slavery was a more drastic social and psychological shock than the "up-rootedness" experienced by immigrants. Slavery's devastating effect on family life and African culture robbed black people of traditional emotional ties and institutions which gave foreign immigrant groups strength. This is not to say that an Afro-American life-style, family structure, and group identification did not develop in America, only that this development took place under different

and more difficult conditions than was the case for immigrant groups.

Since World War II, black-white hostility has been the most publicized case of ethnic conflict in California, a fact dramatized by the 1964 election issue of Proposition 13. The Watts Riot of 1965, of course, was the greatest crisis in black-white relations. As a violent racial conflict, Watts was not unique in California's history or even in the history of Los Angeles. The Los Angeles "Chinese Riot" of 1871 or "Pachuco Riot" of 1943 can be compared to Watts in many respects. However, in these earlier cases, whites took the violent initiative and non-white people were their chief targets. In Watts, on the other hand, non-white people took the violent initiative and white property was the chief target. Perhaps this difference is symptomatic of deep changes now occurring in relationships between whites and non-whites which eventually will alter the whole pattern of ethnic experience in California.

But no matter what comes in the future, the past experience of ethnic groups in the state is in desperate need of study. Even this brief survey shows the extent to which minorities have been subject to discrimination, prejudice, and exploitation throughout California history. However, as pervasive as racism has been, it is not the only determining factor in the experience of the state's ethnic groups. The groups' own cultural and social backgrounds, the political and economic situation in California, and foreign policy questions have played a major role in the experience of different groups at different times. We thus need comparisons of the histories of particular minorities and thorough examinations of the conflicts and coalitions which have existed between such groups. The historical ties between racism, class conflict, and nationalism in California deserve more attention than they have received. Certainly if historians do not deal with the complexities of such subjects, there is little hope of greater understanding by the general public. If it is true that those who ignore history are bound to repeat it, the prospects for improved ethnic relations in California are not encouraging, for Californians have largely ignored the heritage of ethnic experience in their past.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

THIS SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY concentrates on twentieth-century works, but I would be remiss in not noting that many of California's nineteenth-century historians and social commentators dealt with the role of non-whites in California life. Interpretations of these authors covered a wide gamut, ranging from Josiah Royce's severe condemnation of the Forty-niners' violent treatment of non-whites in *California From the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee, a Study in American Character* (Boston, 1886), to Charles Howard Shinn's celebration of California miners' "Teutonic" democracy in *Mining Camps, a Study in American Frontier Government* (New York, 1885).

In the twentieth century, Carey McWilliams has paid more attention to California's multi-racial heritage than any other author. His books document the contribu-

tions of non-whites to California life and contain strong moral judgments against racial prejudices and economic exploitation; in particular, see *Factories in the Fields* (Boston, 1939), and *California, the Great Exception* (New York, 1949). Recently, three general studies of California's ethnic experience have been published. Charles Wollenberg, ed., *Ethnic Conflict in California History* (Los Angeles, 1970), contains eight original essays which comprise a good but by no means complete introduction to the subject. Robert Heizer and Alan Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination Under Spain Mexico and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley, 1971), is a scholarly work documenting the existence of racism during the Spanish-Mexican and early American periods, but the book is weak in its coverage of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Harry H. L. Kitano and Roger Daniels, *American Racism, an Exploration of the Nature of Prejudice* (Englewood Cliffs, 1970), includes a brief but useful survey of ethnic history in California as part of a general analysis of racism in America. Paul Jacobs and Saul Landau, eds., *To Serve the Devil* (New York, 1971), is a documentary history of American racism and contains valuable material on Asians and Mexicans in California.

The standard works on California Indians deal primarily with pre-European cultures, but Alfred Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Berkeley, 1925), and Robert Heizer and Ann Whipple, *The California Indian: a Sourcebook* (Berkeley, 1951), also include information on the effects of white contact and domination. Sherburne Cook, *The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization* (Berkeley, 1943), is a scholarly account of the near-genocide practiced against Indians, and Jack Forbes, *Native Americans of California and Nevada* (Healdsburg, 1969), includes a strong condemnation of the white "invasion" of California. For a defense of the Franciscan missionaries' Indian policies see Maynard J. Geiger, *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra* (Washington, 1959), and for an analysis of Indian policy in the Mexican period see Cecil Alan Hutchinson, *Frontier Settlement in Mexican California* (New Haven, 1969). Theodora Kroeber, *Ishi, Last of His Tribe* (Berkeley, 1961), is a moving biography of the last Yana Indian.

There is need for a good general history of the Chinese in California, though Mary Coolidge's pioneer work, *Chinese Immigration* (New York, 1909), Rose Hum Lee, *Chinese in the U.S.A.* (Hong Kong, 1960), and a brief survey edited by Thomas Chinn, *A History of the Chinese in California* (San Francisco, 1969), all provide useful information. Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength* (Cambridge, 1963), and Stanford Lyman, *The Asian and the West* (Reno, 1970), contain excellent, though somewhat conflicting, interpretations of the nineteenth-century "sojourner" stage of Chinese immigration. Lyman's work also deals thoughtfully with other themes in California's Asian heritage. Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana, 1939), has been supplemented by the broader perspective of Stuart Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant, American Image of the Chinese 1785-1822* (Berkeley, 1970). Alexander Saxton integrates anti-Orientalism into his analysis of social class and political structure in late nineteenth-century California in *The Indispensable Enemy, Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley, 1971).

The Japanese experience also lacks a good general history, although Harry H. L. Kitano provides a valuable social analysis in *Japanese Americans, Evolution of a Sub-Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, 1969). Much of the writing on the Japanese experience concentrates on the wartime relocation, and Alan K. Bosworth, *America's Concentration Camps* (New York, 1967), and Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed* (Stanford, 1949), are among the best of the critical descriptions of that event. Jacobus tenBroek, Floyd Matson, and Edward Barnhard discuss the dangerous legal and

constitutional precedents established by the relocation in *Prejudice, War and the Constitution* (Berkeley, 1951). McWilliams, *Prejudice: Japanese Americans* (Boston, 1944), and Dorothy Swain Thomas, *The Salvage* (1952), cover the relocation, but in addition both books include valuable material on the pre-war Japanese, and Thomas' work contains a discussion of the problems of the post-war return to California. Roger Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice, Anti-Japanese Movement in California* (Berkeley, 1962), is a good study of the impact of the "Yellow Peril" fear on California politics. Bill Hosokawa provides a highly personal account of the experience of the second generation in *Nisei, the Quiet American: the Story of a People* (New York, 1969). John Modell's thoughtful articles which have appeared in the *Pacific Historical Review* and *Ethnic Conflict in California History* provide good insights into the structure of the Japanese community in California.

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S. Stewart, *Now is the Time, Integration in the Berkeley Schools* (Bloomington, 1969), discuss school segregation in California from a liberal, integrationist point of view. Their underlying optimism contrast with the gloomy account of race relations in Southern California contained in Richard Elman, *Ill at Ease in Compton* (New York, 1967), or Eldridge Cleaver's expression of black rage, *Soul on Ice* (New York, 1967).

CHRONOLOGY

The following brief chronology presents some of the important dates in the history of California's ethnic minorities during the past 150 years.

- 1834 Secularization of the missions; subsequently private ranchos take over lands and Indian labor.
- 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo guarantees civil and property rights of the *Californios*.
- 1850 State Constitution denies suffrage to blacks and Indians (Asians also denied suffrage as they are aliens ineligible for citizenship).
- 1850 Blacks and Indians denied right to testify against whites (applies to Asians in 1854).
- 1850 Governor Peter Burnett speaks of "war of extinction" against Indians.
- 1850 Legislature authorizes forced labor of "vagrant" Indians.
- 1850 First state foreign miners' tax (aimed particularly at Mexicans).
- 1852 Second foreign miners' tax (aimed particularly at Chinese).
- 1852 California Land Commission investigates validity of Spanish-Mexican land grants.
- 1852 California fugitive slave law provides for return of slaves to the South.
- 1852 Treaties with Mother Lode Indians rejected by U.S. Senate.
- 1858 Court in Archy Lee case prevents return of a black to slavery.
- 1863 Blacks allowed to testify against whites (extended to Asians and Indians in 1872).
- 1870 15th Amendment extends right to vote to non-white citizens.
- 1870 State law provides for separate schools for non-whites.
- 1871 Nineteen Chinese killed by Los Angeles rioters.
- 1874 Courts rule that non-whites may attend white schools if separate schools not available.
- 1877 Workingmen's Party leads anti-Chinese agitation.
- 1879 Chinese prohibited from employment by California corporations (later ruled unconstitutional).
- 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act passed by Congress (renewed in 1892, made "permanent" in 1902).
- 1906 Attempt of San Francisco to segregate Japanese in schools causes diplomatic crisis.
- 1907 "Gentlemen's Agreement" with Japan limits unskilled immigrants to U.S.
- 1913 Alien Land Act aimed at preventing Japanese aliens from owning land (extended to leasing of land in 1920).
- 1924 Indians receive citizenship.

- 1924 New immigration law excludes Asians (except from Philippines), leaves Mexican immigration open.
- 1933 Large-scale forced repatriation of Mexicans from California.
- 1934 Wave of strikes by Mexican and Filipino farm workers
- 1942 Coastal Japanese "relocated."
- 1942 Beginning of Bracero program.
- 1943 "Pachuco" riots against Los Angeles Mexicans.
- 1943 Chinese exclusion repealed.
- 1944 First compensation of California Indian land claims by U.S. government.
- 1946 School segregation in California ruled illegal.
- 1948 "Restrictive covenants" in real estate titles declared unconstitutional.
- 1952 Alien Land Law unconstitutional.
- 1952 Asian aliens eligible for citizenship.
- 1952 Japanese exclusion repealed.
- 1959 Fair Employment Practices Act.
- 1963 Rumford Fair Housing Act.
- 1964 "Proposition 13" negates Rumford Act (but is itself ruled unconstitutional in 1967).
- 1964 Bracero program ended.
- 1965 Immigration quota ended (Chinese immigration increases, but Mexican immigration limited).
- 1965 Delano farm workers' strike begins.
- 1965 Watts riots.
- 1966 Black Panther party founded in Oakland.
- 1968 "De facto" school segregation ends in Berkeley.
- 1971 Court orders complete integration of San Francisco schools.

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The Native American Experience in California History

It is as accurate to say that Pocahontas "discovered" Britain as to claim that Cabrillo "discovered" California. The heritage of human experience in California goes back thousands of years before Cabrillo's voyage in 1542, yet the people who established that heritage, the California Indians, have become the state's most oppressed and (until recently) most forgotten ethnic group. Jack Forbes not only discusses the plight of California Indians since 1769, but also identifies the sources of social and psychological strength in traditional Indian culture which have helped the original native Californians to survive against great odds.

THE NATIVE AMERICAN or Indian experience in California divides itself naturally into three major eras, one long and two relatively brief. The first era, that of exclusive Indian occupancy, endured for fifteen thousand years or more. The second, that of European invasion and military conquest, lasted about one hundred years (1769-1873). The third, that of colonialism and non-violent Indian resistance, has thus far endured for a century, from 1874 to 1971. Comparing the length of these eras reveals a great deal about California's native experience. The greater part of that experience was wholly pre-European, and the last two centuries represent but a brief, although profoundly influential, period in native history.

Quite obviously, the nature of the Indian experience was distinct in each of these eras. In the first the native people were alone, free to develop their society in their own way. The second era saw the Indian people overrun by the horror of imperialism and war, and reduced in numbers from perhaps 200,000-300,000 to a mere 20,000. The third period saw the California natives climb slowly upward in population to about 50,000 (including Cholos or part-Indians), but at the same time suffer from discrimination, poverty, and dominance by a colonial agency (the Bureau of Indian Affairs). During this period, however, the native experience in California was broadened by the in-migration and birth of at least 75,000 Indians from other parts of the United States and more than 2,000,000 Mexicans of native ancestry.

Ironically, then, the changes set off by the European invasion have had the net effect of increasing the numbers of persons of Indian "blood" in California by ten-fold, although almost eliminating, for a time, the native Californians. In any case, it is clear that a summary of the total native American experience in California must encompass, although briefly perhaps, the total Indian experience of North America.

The first 15,000 years of California's past can be known and understood only through the medium of the Indian experience and only through the "eyes" provided by a profound insight into native American civilization. Archaeology, although a very useful science, can provide no more than a grasp of the residue of material culture and skeletal characteristics left behind by ancient California. The "flesh," the "feel" of a living, functioning way of life, can only come by means of knowing Indian people and their socio-political-religious-philosophical systems.

Tragic indeed is the fact that the white invaders tried so hard to destroy the Indian and his civilization that by 1900-1920 (when scientific ethnology really appeared in California) it was exceedingly difficult to know exactly how the people thought and lived a century or a century and a half earlier. Many native societies were literally wiped off the face of the earth and others were represented by only a few deeply shocked, often hostile and distrustful individuals.

Nonetheless, in spite of the loss of detailed information for many areas, the broad nature of California civilization can be sketched with a knowledge of general Indian value systems serving to explain otherwise mysterious behavior.

Native Californian civilization was of such a nature that at least five hundred autonomous republics could exist within the present boundaries of California in relative harmony and without imperialism. More significantly, in these republics the fundamental dignity and self-rule of each individual person was virtually universal. Can we imagine today numerous republics without armies, living largely at peace with each other, each without police or other formal instrument of societal coercion? Can we imagine societies bound together into leagues covering large areas, the links consisting primarily or solely in religion (ceremony-sharing) and kinship, with no formal "international" machinery or "peace-keeping" armies? Can we understand political systems where chiefs and leaders are powerless in a formal sense, depending upon the agreement of the people for all major enterprises? Can we imagine systems of decision making where all of the people are involved and where everyone has a right to be heard even if it means that meetings drag on and on until consensus is achieved?

There can be little question that native Californians (and many other native Americans) were profoundly successful society builders, for almost all of the individual republics were utopias from the perspective of much of

classic political and social theory, and also from the viewpoint of modern Californians alienated by mass society, big government, crime, and so on.

One might well argue that democracy reached its highest stage of development not in Greece (where, after all, most of the people were slaves or excluded from decision making) but in native California. Of course, it is also true that Californian democracy was able to endure only because of certain religious and social conditions which might be regarded as disadvantages in some quarters. First, most California societies discouraged the accumulation of material wealth and required hospitality and sharing (that is, "required" in the sense that a miser would be a social outcast and could not achieve public office). Many leaders were indeed "wealthy men"; they were wealthy because one of the duties of a leader was to show hospitality and share with others. Thus the people saw to it that a leader possessed goods enough to give away.

The lack of accumulated, inherited wealth and the required sharing served to prevent the development of hereditary social classes. Social classes are, of course, not only destructive of democracy but also, historically, they probably gave rise to exploitation and large-scale imperialism.

Second, native Californians (and all Indians) felt themselves to be something other than independent, autonomous individuals. They perceived themselves as being deeply bound together with other people (and with the surrounding non-human forms of life) in a complex inter-connected web of life, that is to say, a true community. This communal outlook was at times quite profound, as when an individual conceived of his life as being much less important than the life of the whole.

These various social outlooks, necessary to a true democracy, were in fact grounded in the native view of the universe and indeed can only be fully comprehended as part of the religious experience of the people. I believe that, by and large, the Indian people conceived of the universe as being part of, and arising from, the Great Mystery or the Creator. All creatures and all things came from the same Father and were, therefore, brothers and sisters. From this idea came the basic principle of non-exploitation, of respect and reverence for all creatures, a principle extremely hostile to the kind of economic development typical of modern society and destructive of human morals. (It was this principle, I suspect, which more than anything else preserved California in its "natural" state for 15,000 years, and it is the steady violation of this principle which, in a century and a half, has brought California to the verge of destruction.)

The unfolding, creative process inherent in the Great Mystery takes the form of at least two levels of reality, a mystical level and an ordinary day-to-day world of sense perception. The mystical level is one typified by an absence of physical boundaries and an absence of linear space-time relationships. It is the realm, as it were, of ideal forms, a realm in which all creatures

can and do participate both consciously and unconsciously. It is the realm where, by means of dreams and visions, Indians can enter and secure direct contact with the sources of "power" (ability and knowledge) and with the endless, cyclical creative processes of the universe.

The day-to-day level of sense perception is generally conceived of as a less significant, but real and necessary, part of the unfolding of the Creator. It is the stage, as it were, for the acting out or giving expression to the "power" (or potentiality) of the universe. For example, an Indian doctor acts out in this world the knowledge acquired by means of a vision-experience in the mystical realm. To put it another way, the "unconscious" of the psychologist does not exist in a separate area of the brain, but rather is a part of a larger reality connecting all creatures and life itself.

This view of the universe affected Indian social life considerably, since it caused them to share a world view common to mystics and the deeply religious, they tended to emphasize eternal, enduring values, contacts with the Great Mystery, and the acting out of the beauty and harmony of the Universe in their own lives. At the same time, they deemphasized the acquisition of material goods and the other kinds of activities which arise from a purely mechanical-materialistic view of reality.

It would be a mistake, of course, to portray all native Californians as saints living in five hundred bi-sexual monastic communities. But in final analysis, it is easier to understand the near perfection of the secular level of Indian behavior if one is able to comprehend that Indian communities were indeed religious communities in which virtually every act had religious and moral relevance. Indians were, and are, earthy, hearty, and happy people (when among themselves) because their religion was not a negation of the natural world and its processes. On the contrary, such things as sex, the human body, and bodily functions were generally viewed as a vital part of the Creation. In particular, the female-male relationship was seen as a vital force in the total creative process of the Universe and one to be respected as essentially a religious or at least a highly moral phenomenon.

Thus Indian communities were at the same time religious and "earthy" because their religion did not create a dualism between the "spiritual" and the "material." The Indian view, like the Buddhist-Hindu-Asian view, blended the spiritual and material into one process of unfolding and return. The avoidance of dualism was, of course, a crucial philosophical step since any dualistic system runs the risk of either overemphasizing the negation of the material world (as in anti-sexual monastic orders) or the negation of the spiritual world (as in European capitalist society).

I have devoted so much space to emphasizing religious and social behavior because native Californian civilization must be viewed as a 15,000 year effort to perfect the inter-human and human-creation relationships. In other words, the native Californians were not machine creating people,

not monument creating people, not great city creating people, but rather they were applied philosophers, seeking not in theory but in practice to act out in their lives the beauty and harmony of the Great Mystery.

A grasp of this perspective is essential, since Europeans have ordinarily judged cultures solely on the basis of the size of their public monuments, the extent of their military conquests, the amount of surplus wealth accumulated, the elaboration of the material basis of life, and, of course, the numbers of slaves or poor people being successfully exploited. The greater the degree of exploitation, the greater the amount of "hard goods," the higher the ranking of the culture in question. But native Californian society must be measured by a different scale, even as Jesus of Nazareth and Julius Caesar must be rated on different bases.

In practice, western Europeans have given lip-service to Jesus but real reverence to Caesar. And as a result, California Indians were, and are, looked down upon because they failed to carve out empires by means of bloody wars and failed to devote their energies to building huge stone and steel monuments to materialism.

The Spaniards who invaded California in 1769 after abortive attempts at settlement from the 1530's through 1611) were quite different people from native Californians. After two thousand years of learning from Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Goths and Arabs the Spanish had become, at least at the upper levels, a highly militaristic, aggressive, and materialistic people. By the 1490's the Spaniards had come to accept an extremely perverse and anti-social view of life, from the Indian perspective. They looked with general approbation upon such things as interfering with the freedom of other persons, setting up elitist-authoritarian systems of governance, conquering other peoples and building empires, acquiring material wealth, erecting ornate buildings and monuments, exploiting conquered or enslaved populations, and using subterfuge as a justifiable means of achieving objectives. Naturally there were Spaniards who still preserved an indigenous "peasant" view of the universe or who embraced the mystical side of Christianity, but the dominant type who ventured to the Americas and to California were followers of Julius Caesar, whether wearing clerical robes or soldier's armour.

To the Spaniards, Indian democracy was so much anarchy: Indian anti-materialism was perverse laziness; Indian religion was paganism; Indian languages and customs were obstacles to their integration into the empire as tax-paying, hard working subjects.

The missions which were established in California between 1769 and 1823 were not "churches." On the contrary, they were centers for bringing about almost total cultural change by generally authoritarian means, and for the economic exploitation of Indians. Although many Franciscan priests in California may have been primarily concerned with religious salvation from the viewpoint of their dualistic religion, in actual practice the Hispan-

ic chauvinism and Caesar-worship of the Spanish Franciscan orders made them collaborators with secular officials. Thus, the Indians were not merely forced to observe the forms of Christian worship, they were also forced gradually to assume the entire economic support of the empire in California and even to send surpluses to Mexico. (To a certain extent this process was opposed by the Franciscans; however, the very nature of the type of mission created in California made it almost inevitable that the surplus produced by Indians would be used for imperial purposes. To put it bluntly, the Franciscans were wholly dependent upon the Spanish military for protection and never, at any time, considered that Indians—whether Christian or non-Christian—had any political rights taking precedence over the interests of the Spanish Empire.)

Undoubtedly there were a few Indians who reacted favorably to the Spanish colonial system, but by and large the majority recoiled with ever growing hostility. Those Indians residing in the area from Clear Lake to the Colorado River apparently became increasingly warlike and by the 1830's were able to hold their own against Hispano-Mexican soldiers. In the meantime, however, the over-all Indian population of the state had probably been reduced by at least 50,000 due to the high death rates in the missions. Tens of thousands also died as a result of malaria, smallpox, and measles epidemics introduced into the interior by travelers from the coast and from Oregon.

Generally speaking, the Spanish and Mexican periods had very little over-all cultural impact upon Indian people aside from the great population reduction. It seems clear from documentary evidence that the ex-mission Indians, as well as those of nearby regions, remained almost completely indifferent to the materialism of their European and Cholo rulers. It is also clear that native religion generally survived, even in many coastal areas, and that in spite of a few changes in the nature of their material existence the Indian people preserved their fundamental socio-political-ethical systems. On the other hand, a certain pessimism, apathy, and lack of self-confidence—what we would today call a negative self-image—appeared wherever Indians were subjected to intensive anti-native propaganda and the indignity of conquest.

It should also be pointed out that many Spanish-speaking Californians, themselves of mixed race, either because of Indian influences in Mexico, in California, or a combination of both, increasingly adopted an Indian-style attitude towards material possessions. It is conceivable that the Hispano-Mexican and native Californian cultures might ultimately have merged together if it had not been for the entrance into California of aggressive northern Europeans and Anglo-Americans in the 1840's.

The Anglo-American invasion of California became a flood after 1848, a flood which inundated both native and Mexican Californians. The years

from about 1850 through the 1870's were unspeakably terrible for native Californians with at least 80,000 Indians of all ages dying within the span of one generation. We do not need to trace the details of this period of genocide—it is sufficient to note that most of the societies and interrelationships created by California Indians during 15,000 years were shattered or totally destroyed.

The 20,000 Indians remaining in the state in 1880 faced a bleak future. Many groups had lost their entire intellectual-philosophical heritage due to the death of all of their leading people and the systematic terrorization, intimidation, or dispersal of the rest. Others, in more out-of-the-way areas, had managed to salvage part of their heritage but few were able to preserve the legacy intact. All were subjected to degrading anti-Indian propaganda and many had been and were then the victims of an unscrupulous reservation system which was usually nothing more than a scheme to secure cheap Indian labor or enrich government agents.

The modern colonial system commenced in the 1850's for a few Indians and by the 1880's blanketed almost the entire state. It consisted of the establishment of a series of reservations, never adequate in size, where Indian people were under the almost complete dominance of government bureaucrats or missionaries. In spite of reforms carried out in the 1930's Indian reservations (homelands) are still, in fact, colonies in which little self-government is possessed by the Indian people themselves.

The rich non-material heritage of California Indians was, of course, greatly weakened when non-Indian bureaucrats attempted to assume direct control over the internal life of Indian communities. The white value system, as personified by the Federal government, was superimposed upon Indian traditional democracy with inevitable clashes which still continue. At the same time, the government and mission schools sought to destroy the Indian child's faith in his heritage and, in effect, taught him to despise his own parents and grandparents as pagans and savages.

The remarkable thing is, however, that the Indian people, as a living group of human beings, not only managed to survive but also managed to preserve the essence of their Indianness.

One of the great untold stories of the United States, in fact one of the greatest themes of our total history, is the sustained non-violent resistance of Indian people since the period when armed warfare came to an end. The California Indian people did not give up because they were conquered, raped, beaten up physically, robbed, and slandered. Instead they developed a stubborn, tenacious opposition to the white man's rule, an opposition which has never diminished and which today grows stronger.

During the 1870's, 1880's, and 1890's many pan-Indian religious movements swept across California. These movements had a long-term impact on many Indians and undoubtedly served to provide a basis for resistance

to white ideological imperialism. Secular forms of resistance also developed quite early, such as opposition to government schools. The school buildings at Round Valley were burned by the people in 1883, 1912, and 1914 for example.

Beginning about 1910 California Indians began to learn how to appeal to white public opinion to improve conditions. By 1920 at least two organizations, the Society of Northern California Indians and the Mission Indian Federation, were actively seeking justice. By 1917 Indians were utilizing the courts to try to secure the right to vote and in 1924 the right to attend the nearest local public school.

The details of the Indian struggle do not need to concern us here. The main point is that Indian people have survived *as Indians*. They have resisted every form of attack, short of total physical annihilation, successfully. In spite of the efforts of Spaniards, Mexicans, and Anglo-Americans to cause them to disappear they have sustained their Indianness, although at times by a slender thread.

The lesson of this Indian ethnic survival is not one of mere local significance. It serves a universally important indication of the strength of endurance that a people can develop, against even the most terrible odds. Shorn of weapons and rendered outwardly passive, a people can still live on.

And what is more, the Indian people of California have managed to nourish and protect enough of the essence of their Indianness so that it can now be passed on to the younger generation which is, by and large, extremely anxious to receive that legacy. For the white community, Alcatraz, Pit River, and Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University can serve to symbolize what is happening in the Indian World. But the revitalization which is now taking place is not merely to be discovered in such headline creating confrontations. On the contrary, of equal or greater significance is the quiet revival of traditional Indian values and other aspects of culture all over the state, among both young and old.

I can assure you that the majority of Indian youth, and old people, are not looking to white society for guidance. They are instead becoming more Indian. They are looking to the traditional Indians as their teachers. They are turning away from what they consider the slick but phony world of the white man.

The ancient, democratic, small, republics of native California possessed one exceedingly great liability. That is, they could be militarily overcome by an aggressive, imperialistic, well-armed, and more numerous enemy. And indeed they were militarily overcome. But out of their democracy there also arose a great strength: the stubborn loyalty of truly free people whose membership in the group was never based upon coercion.

A man can be outwardly conquered, and if he opens his soul to the conqueror he can be inwardly conquered as well. But if he keeps his soul,

he can remain free although his body is in chains. *Conquered but still free*, that is the secret of Indian survival from Alaska to Patagonia!

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE

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Senator William Gwin: Moderate or Racist?

Racism historically has been an integral part of California politics. The question of statehood itself was entwined with the political issues surrounding the existence and spread of slavery. Although the first Constitutional Convention of 1849 declared California a "free state," the convention also came close to barring the immigration of free black people. William M. Gwin, who played a key role at that convention and later served as United States Senator from California, was the state's leading political figure during the 1850's. Gerald Stanley analyses Gwin's attitudes on race, slavery, and secession, and attacks his reputation as a "moderate" on these issues.

WRITING IN 1876 in his *Memoirs*, William McKendree Gwin, Mississippi Congressman from 1840 to 1842 and California Senator from 1850 to 1861, explained that in 1849 he

... immigrated to California [from Mississippi] for the express purpose of withdrawing himself and his posterity from that part of the country where slavery existed, believing, as he then did and subsequent events have proved, that the institution of slavery would be a curse to the white inhabitants where it prevailed.¹

As is often the case with reminiscences written late in life, this statement does not square with the facts. In 1864 Gwin himself wrote to his brother that he had migrated to California "determined not to make money, but to devote all my energies to obtaining and maintaining political power."² Further, Evan J. Coleman, Gwin's son-in-law and the compiler of his papers, noted that Gwin did not withdraw from the institution of slavery when he moved from Mississippi but rather continued to own slaves in his native state all during the 1850's when he represented California in the United States Senate.³

When Gwin wrote his *Memoirs*, however, he characterized himself as a moderate on slavery and secession. He said his views on those two subjects were "persistently misunderstood" and asserted that "no living man was more devoted to the Union of the States."⁴ Like Jefferson Davis, the

ex-President of the Confederate States of America, Gwin toiled during Reconstruction trying to justify his support for the South's "lost cause."⁵

Most of Gwin's contemporaries saw him differently. Because of his Southern background and his speeches in the Senate on the eve of the Civil War, his political foes in California called him a "pro-slavery conspirator," a "disunionist," and a "treasonable Judas."⁶ One of his admirers, Samuel Sullivan Cox, said of Gwin, "He gave his whole heart to the cause of the Confederacy."⁷

Historians of California politics writing at the turn of the century also denied Gwin's self-proclaimed moderation. In his multi-volume *History of California*, Hubert Howe Bancroft focused on one of Gwin's devious Senate speeches and indicted him for his pro-slavery and secessionist views.⁸ Offering this same conclusion in *The Contest for California*, Elijah H. Kennedy maintained that Gwin clearly favored the preservation of slavery and urged secession in the Senate.⁹ Two other historians, James M. Guinn and Gertrude Atherton, characterized Gwin and "the chivalry" (his political machine in California) as strongly pro-slavery.¹⁰ The *Memoirs* notwithstanding, Gwin's contemporaries and these early historians were correct in their estimate of his position.

Yet more recent works dealing with Gwin and California politics during the 1850's have accepted his *Memoirs* uncritically and have concluded erroneously that he held moderate views of slavery and secession. For example, Lately Thomas, the pseudonymous author of *Between Two Empires: The Life Story of California's First Senator, William McKendree Gwin*, classified Gwin a moderate because his views on slavery were benevolent and paternalistic and because he left the South in 1849.¹¹ William H. Ellison, the editor of Gwin's *Memoirs*, also believed that Gwin came to California to rid himself of slavery.¹² Citing Gwin's vote against slavery in the California Constitutional Convention in 1849 and his paternalistic view of the institution as "authoritative evidence" of Gwin's moderation, Ellison concluded in 1940,

In the face of Gwin's non-slavery statements and his actions from the time he arrived in California, it is difficult to understand the attacks on him as a leader of vicious southern "chivalry". . . .¹³

Ten years later Ellison judged Gwin "a Unionist, a believer in the right of states, a loyal American citizen."¹⁴ More recently Donald E. Hargis accepted Ellison's argument and reaffirmed Gwin's sectional moderation.¹⁵

To explain why a moderate in 1860 supported John C. Breckinridge, the candidate usually identified with the secessionist wing of the Democratic party, these historians cited Gwin's strict constructionist interpretation of the Constitution or his devotion to the Democratic party. Ellison, for instance, maintained that Gwin "supported Breckinridge's policy of state

freedom with regard to domestic institutions, and although he believed the Union was perpetual, he regarded it as a confederacy."¹⁶ On the other hand, Thomas argued that Gwin's support of Breckinridge derived from his unflagging loyalty to the Democratic party.¹⁷ Similarly, Hargis accounted for Gwin's political conduct in terms of party loyalty and concluded that he was a "Unionist by inclination . . . [who] did not believe that the South was right in withdrawing from the Union."¹⁸ Finally, Hallie May McPherson, whose dissertation is the most comprehensive biography of Gwin, offered this curious appraisal of his moderation:

[As] a southern man with close family ties and property interests in the South . . . [his] sympathies were naturally with the Confederacy. On the other hand, he loved the Union and . . . he strongly advocated a policy of conciliation. . . . He believed in neither nullification nor secession, but he did believe in revolution against the violation of constitutional right.¹⁹

These revisionist historians of Gwin resemble the revisionist historians of the Civil War who have stressed that many, if not most, Southerners held moderate views of slavery and were pushed into secession in 1861.²⁰ Because they believe that opposing moral principles can and should be reconciled, even at the expense of human freedom, they blame "hyper-emotionalism" for the war that freed black Americans.²¹ Arguing that Republicans and abolitionists hardened sectional feelings and prevented compromise, they have concluded that the Civil War was a repressible conflict. Their interpretations worship at the throne of moderation, but, more importantly, they define *immoderation* as opposition to slavery expansion rather than as opposition to slavery itself.

Nearly every historian who has written about Gwin since Gertrude Atherton's *California: An Intimate History* (1914) has failed to consider his views on slavery critically and has carefully selected parts of his public speeches on the subject to make him a moderate. Indeed, only one, Hallie May McPherson, mentioned that he still owned slaves in Mississippi in 1861.²²

A study of Gwin's important speeches and his voting record from 1849 to 1861, however, indicates that his desire to maintain slavery caused him personally, as an individual, to secede from the Union in 1861. While he represented California during this period, he believed slavery was the "foundation of civilization," and when he thought the institution was threatened in March, 1861, he left the Union.²³ Admittedly, he was not a fire-eater like William L. Yancy of Alabama or Robert Barnwell Rhett of South Carolina. Nevertheless, a Californian who believed secession justifiable and necessary in 1861 is not properly classified as "moderate."

First, the facade of strict constitutional construction does not explain Gwin's position on slavery. In fact, there were few, if any, consistent strict

constructionists in the ante-bellum decade. As long ago as 1922 Arthur M. Schlesinger argued convincingly in his widely-read essay, "The States Rights Fetish," that the states rights doctrine has never had any real vitality "independent of underlying conditions of vast social, economic, or political significance." The doctrine, he concluded, has served only "as a species of protective coloration against the threatening onslaughts of a powerful foe."²⁴ Buttressing Schlesinger's argument, Ulrich B. Phillips maintained in 1929 that the doctrine of states rights never prevailed in the South. Southerners, Phillips concluded, disagreed about everything from a constitutional point of view except the maintenance of white supremacy.²⁵ This literature suggests that the strict-constructionist states-rights syndrome explains Gwin no better than it explains the South. Anyway, unlike the self-styled states righters, Gwin voted for huge federal subsidies for a Pacific railroad and a Pacific Electric Telegraph.

Like others masquerading under the banner of states rights, Gwin believed the Union to be a Confederacy in the strict constitutional definition of the term only when it suited his purpose. Moreover, although he was a lifelong Democrat, his devotion to party fails to explain why he supported the Lecompton Constitution in 1858, Breckinridge over Douglas in 1860, and separation instead of Union in 1861. The "party loyalty" interpretation of Gwin avoids the issue that divided the Democratic party in the 1850's, and, in fact, refuses to recognize that the party was divided. Gwin's Southern view of slavery and not his devotion to states rights or party determined his ultimate political loyalty, not the reverse.

Although Thomas, Ellison, Hargis, and McPherson claimed that Gwin's vote against the establishment of slavery in California in 1849 indicated his moderation, that vote did not necessarily mean he opposed the institution. In his *Memoirs* he made plain that he felt the soil and climate of California would prohibit slavery.²⁶ Besides, he came to the West for political reasons, but at the convention he discovered that the long-standing residents of California distrusted him because of his pro-slavery views. Commenting on this in his *Memoirs*, he wrote,

Their suspicions were great against members of the convention who had recently arrived in the country, and they were especially so against Mr. Gwin to whom they attributed in their imaginations the most dangerous designs upon their property in the formation of a state government.²⁷

After he voted against slavery, however, they supported him in his bid to become Senator. Of this transformation Gwin stated,

It was a noble fact that for the first time the native Californian members of the convention and the old residents . . . came to his support almost unanimously, and from that time forward he retained their entire confidence.²⁸

The vote against slavery at Monterey was unanimous because many delegates feared that a slavery provision in the Constitution would prevent California from entering the Union. Moreover, pro-slavery and anti-slavery delegates agreed that the anti-slavery provision would serve to keep all Negroes out of the state. This united the Convention which, in fact, voted to prohibit Negroes, whether slave or free, from settling in California.²⁹ Political expediency rather than moral principle explains Gwin's vote against slavery where both nature and sentiment opposed the institution already.

After California became a state, Gwin voted consistently to protect slavery elsewhere. In 1850 he opposed an attempt to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. He voted against a repeal of the fugitive slave law in 1852, characterizing the motion as "equivalent to introducing a resolution to dissolve the Union."³⁰ He also voted for the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, which in its final form was more the product of the Southern slave interests than the Douglas Democrats.³¹ After Republicans and Northern Democrats interpreted the act to mean territorial legislatures could exclude slavery, however, Gwin denounced it.

When the Dred Scott decision declared slaves property and ruled that there could be no such thing a free territory, Gwin insisted that slavery was a judicial question settled irrevocably by the Court. To Gwin blacks belonged in chains; a free Negro was a contradiction in terms. Speaking on the Dred Scott decision, Gwin declared,

If, in 1849, the decision which has been rendered in the recent Dred Scott case had been made, we should have prohibited their [free Negroes] going into California. Our people want none but the white race among us; we do not want Negroes or Chinese. . . .³²

After the Dred Scott decision, Gwin took bold steps to protect slavery. As chairman of the sub-committee of Democratic Senators who recommended to the Democratic caucus nominations for various committees, he wielded much power. When Stephen A. Douglas, in his famous debates with Lincoln, admitted that in spite of the Dred Scott decision territories could still prevent slavery through unfriendly legislation, Gwin had him removed as Chairman of the Committee on Territories. Then on March 23, 1858, he voted to admit Kansas as a slave state under the Lecompton Constitution, and on May 4 he supported the English Bill which would have granted public land and immediate admission of Kansas to the Union if she voted for slavery again. Finally, in the same Congress he joined the South in voting for a congressional guarantee of slavery in the territories.

In the Thirty-Sixth Congress Gwin again demonstrated his immoderation on slavery. After five Southern Senators followed their states out of the Union in January, 1861, Republicans tried to admit Kansas as a free

state. Their bill passed the Senate by a vote of 36 to 16. All Republicans and all Democrats from free states voted for the bill except Senators Gwin and Milton Latham of California, who abstained. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee and John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, genuine moderates if any existed in 1861, were the only Senators from slave states to vote for the bill.

Gwin's desire to maintain slavery clearly derived from his belief that the institution was a positive good, that it was indeed necessary for the survival of white civilization. Although he refused to speak on the subject of slavery for eight years because, he said, it was "far removed from California," he articulated his position with special clarity during the first week of the Thirty-Sixth Congress. At that time Senator James Mason of Virginia introduced a resolution calling for a committee to investigate John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry. Senator Stephen Douglas, however, proposed that the Senate again consider the question of the admission of Kansas into the Union. The highly sectional debate on these resolutions stirred Gwin to defend the South's way of life. Because of increased Republican agitation against the extension of slavery, he declared he could remain silent no longer, impelled by a duty "to maintain the constitutional rights of every section of the Confederacy."³³

After Senator Clement Clay of Alabama warned Northerners that the election of a Republican president in 1860 would imperil the Union, Gwin rose to agree. He charged that the non-slaveholding states were overestimating Southern Unionism and added that the South would favor separation from the Union in the event of a Republican triumph in 1860. Arguing that secession was possible and practical, he said to the Northern Senators,

I believe that the slaveholding States of this Confederacy can establish a separate and independent government that will be impregnable to the assaults of all foreign enemies. They have the elements of power within their own boundaries, and the elements of strength in those very institutions which are supposed in the North to be their weakness.³⁴

Then he declared that the "Northern Party" erroneously believed "that the slave hates his master, and is kept in slavery only by power and fear."³⁵ On this point Gwin's position resembled George Fitzhugh's, the extreme pro-slavery Southern author who said of the Negro, "He is but a grown up child, and must be governed as a child . . . The master occupies towards him the place of parent or guardian . . ."³⁶ Presenting a classic defense of slavery, Gwin said,

Not only do they [slaves] not seek freedom, but it is a curse to them when they get it. . . . I do not believe the negro race have ever been so happy, or so nearly approached civilization, at any period from the beginning of the world to the present time, as they do in the slaveholding States of this Confederacy, in a state of slavery.³⁷

Turning to the Senate Republicans, he charged that their party "looks to the conquest of the South," and warned that "the South should be prepared for resistance."³⁸ To Gwin any attempt to interfere with slavery constituted a challenge to biological law. He ended his speech by pleading for the preservation of the Union on these extremist terms, thereafter to remain silent on the slavery issue in the Senate.

When Gwin campaigned for John C. Breckinridge in the fall of 1860, he again proclaimed his Southern principles. In a speech in Sacramento on September 11, he maintained that if the nation applied Douglas's popular sovereignty the Union would be jeopardized. Such a doctrine, he claimed, was "aimed directly against the equal rights of all the States in this Confederacy."³⁹ After he stressed that all men who loved the Union had a "duty" to resist the doctrine of Douglas, he praised the Breckinridge platform which proclaimed the inviolate right of all citizens to take their property into territories of the United States.

Calling all those who attacked slavery "fanatics," Gwin described their demagoguery as a threat to the "foundation of civilization." Once more he characterized the South as being "able to take care of herself and to protect her rights in or out of the Union." Then he warned, "Whenever the time comes, they [Southerners] can defend their rights, even at the bayonet's point, and they will."⁴⁰ Although Gwin said he supported Breckinridge because "he represents my views and principles," his congressional and campaign speeches, which were reprinted only in part in his defensive *Memoirs*, clearly defined the essence of those views and principles.⁴¹ Because of his public statements on slavery and secession, the *Daily Alta California* labeled him a "time-serving, no-principled politician" who sacrificed California to the "Moloch of sectional controversy."⁴² The *San Francisco Bulletin* added that he was a "disunionist" who would eventually support a secessionist movement in the South.⁴³ Time proved the *Bulletin* correct in its prediction.

Gwin's sympathy with secession and the Southern cause manifested itself when he acted as a mediator between the Confederacy and the incoming Republican administration in March, 1861. In his negotiations he sought only to maintain peace between the two governments and not to restore the Union. When he became convinced that war was probable and slavery would be threatened, he refused to negotiate further and personally left the Union.⁴⁴

His peace efforts began when Senator William Seward from New York devised a plan to help his own political career and to maintain the existing tranquillity between the sections. Early in March Seward told Gwin that he too favored the peaceful separation of the states and if appointed Secretary of State would work to that end. At Seward's urging, Gwin wrote Jefferson Davis on March 2, informing the Confederate President that if

Seward became Secretary of State "The inaugural will be pacific, followed by conciliatory policy. This is certain."⁴⁵ Then, to convince Lincoln that the South would view the appointment as an amicable gesture, Seward arranged for a meeting between Gwin and the President elect when he arrived in Washington on March 2. Gwin stated in his *Memoirs* that he told Lincoln about the Davis letter, and on the following day Lincoln notified Seward of his pending appointment.⁴⁶

At the same time, however, Lincoln notified Republican Senator Salmon P. Chase from Ohio that he would be the next Secretary of the Treasury. Gwin considered Chase a radical on slavery and protested that the Ohioian's appointment offset any implication of moderation implied by Seward's membership in the Cabinet. Calling on Seward, Gwin described Lincoln's latest appointment as "a declaration of war against the South" and expressed his fear that his own image in the South would be shattered because of the appointment.⁴⁷

In a second letter to President Davis, Gwin indicated that because of Chase's appointment he had changed his mind about the possibility of peace. He showed this second letter to Seward who quickly assured Gwin that Lincoln sought peace and hinted that Chase would not be confirmed anyway. With Gwin's approval, Seward changed the letter to read, "Notwithstanding Mr. Chase's appointment, the policy of the administration would be for peace, and the amicable settlement of all questions between the sections."⁴⁸ Gwin read the altered letter and sent it on to Davis by telegraph.

While Gwin was writing letters to Davis, he also acted as a middleman between Lincoln's administration and Martin J. Crawford, Chief of the Commissioners of the Confederacy to the United States.⁴⁹ He carried notes between Seward and Crawford until the latter insisted upon some tangible guarantee of peace or direct negotiation with Seward. To arrange for direct negotiations Gwin called on Seward on the morning of March 11, but the Secretary told him that he could not set the time and place for the interview because of a sudden attack of lumbago.⁵⁰

Quick to interpret Seward's sudden illness as a sign that no guarantee of peace would be forthcoming, Gwin informed Crawford that he would no longer act as intermediary. Later he reminisced that the role carried a danger of "deluding the South into the belief that there would be no war."⁵¹ His peacemaking efforts at an end and his term of office having expired on March 4, Gwin left Washington on March 11 for Mississippi, his plantation, and his slaves.

He remained in Mississippi until he returned to Washington for a brief visit on April 11, 1861. At that time Attorney General Edwin M. Stanton observed that Gwin "had great confidence of the stability and power of the Confederacy" and "sympathizes strongly" with the Confederates.⁵²

Gwin then sailed to California, but by that time his political career had

all but ended. In the election of 1860 the state Democratic party split into Douglas and Breckinridge factions resulting in 38,733 votes for Lincoln, 37,999 for Douglas, 33,969 for Breckinridge and 9,111 for Bell. After the election, the new state legislature met on March 20, 1861, to elect a new Senator to fill Gwin's seat. The Republicans, who were still in a minority, joined the Douglas Democrats and elected James A. McDougall, a Democrat professing Union sentiments. Because of Gwin's known sympathy with the South, no one even mentioned his name in the balloting. Then, in the state elections of 1861, the Republicans and Douglas Democrats repudiated the right of secession and together polled more than two-thirds of the state's votes. Republicans that year elected their first governor, Leland Stanford, by a substantial plurality.

After the unionist triumph in September, 1861, Gwin cast all pretense of unionism and moderation aside and became involved in an international scheme to aid the Confederacy. A month after the election he mysteriously boarded a steamer in San Francisco for Cuba. In the Bay of Panama, he was arrested for "treasonous activities."⁵³ He remained a prisoner at Fort Lafayette, New York, from November 18 to December 2, 1861, and upon his release he returned to Mississippi for nearly a year. Then he sailed to Paris where he lived until June, 1864.

While in Paris, he succeeded in interesting Napoleon III in a project to colonize the Mexican provinces of Sonora and Chihuahua, perhaps with Confederates. After conferring with the Emperor, Gwin sailed to Mexico in June, 1864, only to find that Maximilian, Napoleon's puppet on the Mexican throne, refused to give countenance to the colonization scheme.⁵⁴ In October, 1865, after a second visit to Mexico, he returned to the South, first to Texas and then to New Orleans, where he was arrested for a second time. Although he lived for another twenty years, he had no political career after the Civil War.

The most scholarly study of Gwin's colonization scheme, Hallie May McPherson's dissertation, argued that the Sonora episode did not mean that Gwin was a "disunionist" because he believed "... the Union no longer existed. The compact of states was broken by the Administration in the attempt to coerce its principles upon Sovereign States." McPherson concluded that the Sonora project was a "business venture" which had "no connection with the purposes of the Confederacy."⁵⁵

Nevertheless, it is reasonable to conclude that Gwin's colonization scheme favored the cause of the Confederacy. Gwin himself said that he was "highly valued [by Southerners] because I am with the South in this contest."⁵⁶ Whatever his ultimate plan, he apparently related it to the Confederate commissioners in Paris and Havana, John Slidell and William Preston, respectively. In a letter dated June 2, 1864, to Judah Benjamin, a member of the Confederate cabinet, Slidell wrote,

Ex-Senator Gwin is on his way to Mexico. His object is to colonize Sonora with persons of southern birth of proclivities residing in California. . . . If carried out its consequences will be most beneficial. . . .⁵⁷

On the twenty-eighth Preston wrote to President Davis,

I found Gwin very anxious to secure friendly relations between Mexico and the Confederacy, as the success of his scheme will depend upon the emigration of Southern men from California.⁵⁸

Further, throughout the war Union generals considered Gwin a Southern conspirator. In January, 1865, General Grant warned Major General McDowell, Union commander in the Pacific, of Gwin's activities in Mexico:

It is known that Gwin, former United States Senator from California, has gone to Mexico and taken service under the Maximilian Government. It is understood also that he has been appointed Governor General of Sonora. The Dr. is a rebel of the most virulent order. . . . May it not be his design to entice into Sonora the dissatisfied spirits of California, and if the opportunity occurs, organize them and invade the State?⁵⁹

From 1849 to 1865 Gwin defended the South's peculiar institution in public speeches and in the United States Senate. His defense of the institution was economically logical, for during the period he still owned a large plantation and many slaves in Mississippi, his *Memoirs* notwithstanding. Although he did not openly advocate secession for the South, and never suggested it for his adopted state of California, his views on neither secession nor slavery are properly designated moderate.

Years later he explained in his *Memoirs* that "Events had occurred that rendered the separation of the states inevitable, with or without war."⁶⁰ Another self-proclaimed moderate, Jefferson Davis, explained his actions in almost the same terms. In *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (1881) Davis wrote,

. . . the intolerable grievance . . . was the systematic and persistent struggle to deprive the Southern States of equality in the Union—generally to discriminate in legislation against the interests of their people; culminating in their exclusion from the Territories the common property of the States. . . .⁶¹

Clearly, if Gwin was a moderate, then the President of the Confederacy himself was. Indeed, the two men's views of sectional issues were very similar, but Southern, rather than moderate, is the appropriate adjective to describe their common ground.

NOTES

1. William H. Ellison, ed., "Memoirs of Hon. William M. Gwin" *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XIX (March, 1940), 8.
2. Gwin to his brother, June 21, 1864, Southampton, France, in "Senator Gwin's Plan for the Colonization of Sonora," Evan J. Coleman, ed., *Overland Monthly*, XVIII (August, 1891), 206.
3. *Ibid.* (June, 1891), 606.
4. Ellison, "Memoirs," (December, 1940), 360-1.
5. See Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (New York, 1958). Unlike Davis, however, Gwin suppressed his *Memoirs* during his lifetime.
6. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, February 3, 1860; *San Francisco Bulletin*, August 1, 1860.
7. Samuel Sullivan Cox, *Union-Disunion-Reunion: Three Decades of Federal Legislation, 1855-1885* (Providence, Rhode Island, 1885), 90.
8. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1890), 258-59.
9. Elijah H. Kennedy, *The Contest for California* (Boston, 1912), 62-6.
10. James M. Guinn, *A History of California* (Los Angeles, 1907), 204-10; Gertrude Atherton, *California: An Intimate History* (New York, 1914), 165.
11. Lately Thomas, *Between Two Empires: The Life Story of California's First Senator, William McKendree Gwin* (New York, 1969), 47-8. Two graduate theses done at the University of California, Helen Blattner's "The Political Career of William McKendree Gwin," and Hallie May McPherson's "William McKendree Gwin, Expansionist" (1931), also present similar explanations of Gwin's moderation.
12. Ellison "Memoirs" (March, 1940), 25, note 26.
13. *Ibid.*, 277, note 88.
14. William H. Ellison, *A Self-Governing Dominion: California, 1849-1860* (Berkeley, 1950), 309.
15. Donald E. Hargis, "W. M. Gwin: Middleman," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, XL (March, 1958), 21.
16. Ellison, "Memoirs" (December, 1940), 367, note 104.
17. Thomas, *Between Two Empires*, 176 & 213.
18. Hargis, "Middleman," 17 & 131. In the same laudatory tone, Helen Blattner, Gwin's first biographer, called him "a loyal son of the Union [who] found not that he loved the Union less but that he loved the South more." "Political Career," 70 & 131.
19. McPherson, "William McKendree Gwin," 233 & 237.
20. See, for example: Avery O. Craven, *The Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1942); James G. Randall, "A Blundering Generation," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVII (June, 1940), 3-28; David M. Potter, *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis* (New Haven, 1942); David Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1961); and Roy Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, 1948).

21. Nichols, *Democracy*, 8.
22. McPherson, "William McKendree Gwin," 233.
23. New York *Daily National Intelligencer*, October 23, 1860.
24. Arthur M. Schlesinger, "The State Rights Fetish," *New Viewpoints in American History* (New York, 1922), 243.
25. Ulrich B. Phillips, "The Central Theme of Southern History," *American Historical Review*, XXXIV (October, 1929), 31. Similarly, by tracing the history of the Whig party below the Mason and Dixon line, Charles G. Sellers, Jr., in "Who Were the Southern Whigs?," *American Historical Review*, LIX (January, 1954), 336, exploded the notion of states rights as a central theme of political history in the ante-bellum period.
26. Ellison, "Memoirs" (March, 1940), 5-6.
27. *Ibid.*, 5.
28. *Ibid.*, 10.
29. J. Ross Browne, *Report of the Debates in the Convention of California on the Formation of the State Constitution* (Washington, D.C., 1850), 43-44, 48-49, 61-76, 137-152. To maintain further the racial purity of California the Delegates passed a resolution urging the Legislature, at its first session, to pass laws "to prohibit free persons of color from immigrating to and settling in this state, and to effectually prevent the owners of slaves from bringing them into this state for the purpose of setting them free." Brown, 48, 76.
30. *Cong. Globe*, 32nd Cong., 1st Sess., 1952.
31. Roy F. Nichols, "The Kansas-Nebraska Act: A Century of Historiography," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIII (September, 1956), 209.
32. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess. 2204.
33. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., 124.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*, 125.
36. George Fitzhugh, *Sociology for the South* (Richmond, 1854), as quoted in Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Causes of the Civil War* (New Jersey, 1959), 102.
37. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., 125.
38. *Ibid.*, 125-6.
39. New York *Daily National Intelligencer*, October 23 1860.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *San Francisco Bulletin*, August 31, 1860.
42. *Daily Alta California*, July 24, 1860.
43. *San Francisco Bulletin*, December 31, 1860, and January 10, 1861.
44. Ellison, "Memoirs" (December, 1940), 362; Frederick Bancroft, *The Life of William H. Seward*, II (New York, 1900), 25-6.
45. *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, Series 1, LIII, Supplement, 128.
46. Ellison, "Memoirs" (December, 1940), 363.

47. Gwin, "The Peace Negotiations of 1861," MSS, in "Gwin and Seward - A Secret Chapter of Ante-Bellum History," Evan J. Coleman, ed., *Overland Monthly* (November, 1861), 469; Bancroft, *Life of Seward*, II, 26.
48. Coleman, "Gwin and Seward," 469.
49. The other commissioners were John Forsyth and A. B. Roman.
50. Bancroft, *Life of Seward*, II, 26; Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *William Henry Seward* (New York, 1967), 334.
51. Ellison, "Memoirs" (December, 1940), 365.
52. Edwin M. Stanton to James Buchanan, Washington, April 11, 1860, in *The Works of Buchanan*, John Bassett Moore, ed., (Philadelphia, 1908), 178.
53. Helen B. Walters, "Confederates in Southern California," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, XXXV (March, 1953), 52.
54. Gwin to the Marquis de Montholon, Fort Jackson, October 15, 1865, in "Senator Gwin's Plan For the Colonization of Sonora," 209-211.
55. McPherson, "William McKendree Gwin," 274-5, 316.
56. Gwin to his brother, Southampton, France, June 1, 1864, in "Senator Gwin's Plan for the Colonization of Sonora," 206.
57. John Slidell to Judah Benjamin, Paris, June 2, 1864, in John Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life* (New York, 1900-1913), II, 190.
58. William Preston to Jefferson Davis, Havana, June 28, 1864, in Bigelow, *Retrospections*, II, 197-8.
59. Benjamin Thomas, "A Threatened Invasion of California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XIII (March, 1934), 38.
60. Ellison, "Memoirs" (December, 1940), 362.
61. Davis, *Confederate Government*, 83.

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The Political Development of the Black Community in California, 1850-1950

From gold rush days to the Second World War, blacks represented a small racial minority in California. But California blacks sought protection of their rights in political organization at a very early date, and more than any other racial minority in California they have used traditional political organization to gain publicity and leverage. James Fisher discusses black organization and group pressure in the fight against discriminatory legislation.

THERE IS OFTEN a tendency on the part of the general public to view political representatives first as politicians or "power brokers" and then as representatives responsible to definite constituencies. Obviously, such a view leaves much to be desired in the context of a representative system of government. Historically, this view has also served to obscure the more subtle role of black political representatives. Today, California has only two black congressmen: Augustus F. Hawkins of Los Angeles and Ronald V. Dellums of Berkeley. The state also has six black state legislators. Two represent the Bay Area: Assemblymen Willie L. Brown of San Francisco and John J. Miller of Oakland. Four represent Los Angeles: Assemblywoman Yvonne Watson Brathwaite, Senator Mervyn M. Dymally, and Assemblymen Bill Greene and Leon Ralph. Whether they wish it or not, these black lawmakers symbolically represent the highest political aspirations of the vast majority of black people throughout the state. Indeed, many historical factors account for this perspective. The following comments briefly trace the development of the black community as a viable and participating segment of the political and social life of California from 1850, the year of the admission of the state to the Union, to 1950.¹ To a lesser extent, these comments suggest how social factors such as racism, wars, economic determinants, reform movements, and migration patterns influenced the political awareness, status and objectives of the black community in the history of California.² For a representative view, those areas of relatively large and concentrated black populations in California such as the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area and Los Angeles are focused upon.

To better understand the political behavior of blacks, the California environment must be considered in the context of the entire American West, where, more than in any other region of the United States, the "conflict between the traditional equalitarian creed and the actual treatment accorded the Negro" reached dramatic proportions.³ The historian Frederick Jackson Turner's interpretation of the significance of the West—an interpretation that inherently includes the liberating ideas of free association and equal opportunity, in vivid contrast to the restrictive orthodoxy of the eastern portion of the United States—did not depict the reality faced by black people in the West. Professor Turner attributed qualities to the American West such as "individualism, economic equality, freedom to rise [and] democracy." However, the case made for the West by Turner ignored black Westerners altogether. For, as the influence of the United States began to expand into the Far West in the 1840's and 1850's, indications of white race prejudice also began to appear.⁴ As a consequence of United States dominance and the western movement of substantial numbers of blacks, "Negroes in Territorial California encountered restrictions similar to those found in the East."⁵

As early as 1833, for example, there was evidence that some black people were seriously attracted to the West as a possible improvement over their Eastern environment. In that year, the Third Annual Convention for the Improvement of Free People of Color met in Philadelphia and resolved that "those who may be obliged to exchange a cultivated region for a howling wilderness, we recommend, *to retire into the western wilds, and fell the native forest of America, where the ploughshare of prejudice has as yet been unable to penetrate the soil.*"⁶ However, such a spirit of adventure and supreme optimism was not to last for long. The experiences of exchanging "a cultivated region for a howling wilderness" called forth second and more sobering thoughts. Meeting in Sacramento on November 20, 1855, the State Convention of the Colored Citizens of California reflected an unmistakable black disillusionment with the West:

Brethren: Your state and condition in California is one of social and political degradation; one that is unbecoming a free and enlightened people. *Since you have left your homes and peaceful friends in the Atlantic States, and migrated to the shores of the Pacific, with the hopes of bettering your condition, you have met with one continued series of outrages, injustices, and unmitigated wrongs unparalleled in the history of nations.*⁷

It is impossible to reconcile the reality of black people in the West and its attendant racism with the ideal West of Turner. The uniqueness, then, of the American West Turner describes must be qualified where Black people were concerned.

The presence of black people in California and the treatment accorded them often reflected the prejudices and attitudes of non-western regions.

Indeed, between 1850 and 1900, the legislative actions of California closely paralleled the politics, the philosophy and the social policies of older states. This was particularly true where there were determined efforts on the state legislature "to avert anticipated evils."⁸ More often than not, those "anticipated evils" were identified with black, Native American, Chinese, and Japanese peoples. Political and social legislation that adversely affected these groups was consistently justified on the high grounds that it was necessary in order to avert the evils that the Eastern and Southern regions of the United States experienced, *i.e.*, crowded conditions in burgeoning urban centers, crime and disorder, competition with honest white labor, and heavy taxes incurred when inferior races became inevitable public changes.⁹ Hence, an early California newspaper could state: "We desire only a white population in California."¹⁰ Black people, like whites, had come to California in the nineteenth century seeking a climate in which to assert their individualism; they had come seeking economic equality and opportunity; they had come seeking freedom of upward social mobility on the basis of merit and inclination; finally, they had come seeking effective political power, the power of self-determination, the power to control their own lives and influence the lives of others.

However, nineteenth century California offered black people few opportunities and even fewer freedoms. Instead, black Californians were confronted with a mocking disregard for their social rights and a great number of political proscriptions. English traveller J. D. Borthwick, in 1851, recorder just one example of white California's cynicism in regard to race:

In the mines the Americans seemed to exhibit more tolerance of Negro blood than usual in the states—*not that Negroes were allowed to sit at tables with white men or considered to be all on an equality*, but, owing partly to the exigencies of the unsettled state of society . . . Negroes were permitted to lose their money in the gambling rooms.¹¹

Such treatment of black men was neither a praiseworthy example of Western democracy in action nor a substantial improvement over that of other sections of the United States. Interestingly, historian Arthur G. Pettit has observed that during the Western period of Mark Twain's career, between 1861 and 1867, his violently racist attitude toward black men remained essentially unchanged because that attitude "coincided with, rather than deviated from, the Western norm." Samuel Clemens, Pettit further suggested, "found the Far West an ideal temporary society, and a most congenial environment in which to practice his first extensive experiment with the Negro as the comic butt, the minstrel stooge, the inane, foolish 'yassah' man of long standing minstrel tradition."¹² More significant, cynicism and prejudices were translated into proscription, and, by California statutes, the denial of civil rights. Black people were denied the right to testify for or

against white persons in court, suffrage, jury participation, equal education, choice in marriage, use of public facilities and accommodations, pursuit of certain trades, mobility and settlement in the state.¹³

As a consequence of, and often in spite of, these wide-ranging proscriptions, black Californians in the nineteenth century went about the business of devising political strategies in order to realize racial justice, gain fundamental civil liberties, and persuade the state to commit itself to the goal of equality for all. Indeed, at the beginning of the new century, blacks in California were in a position to look back over the past fifty years and point to specific milestones marking their emergence as an active political force in the state. Having survived the many and often scurrilous attacks on their right to immigrate to California in the 1850's, by 1863, blacks had won the right to testify in the state courts.¹⁴ With the courts at last open to them, black people ostensibly were guaranteed the means to protect life and property. Social dignity had always been a high priority for black people in California, and, in 1864, after a series of court suits, they officially won the right to ride the street cars in San Francisco.¹⁵ In 1870, after the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment (which the state of California did not accept until 1962) the franchise was expanded to include California blacks as well as blacks throughout the nation.¹⁶ After 1870, the black community of California well realized that political influence depended on its ability to gain patronage, effect electoral reprisals when necessary, and place representatives of its choice in public office. Not at all coincidental with this political thrust on the part of blacks was the fact that, after 1870, black jurors participating in judicial proceedings were not uncommon in the state.¹⁷ In 1880, the legislature finally eliminated from state laws all references to separate schools for black (but not Chinese) children. Since the 1850's, the customary practice in California was to create and maintain distinct "colored" and "white" schools. In 1890, the California Supreme Court declared that "separate schools cannot be established for colored children."¹⁸ By 1883, San Francisco businessman James E. Brown became the first black man to be appointed to an office of public trust in California.¹⁹ Finally, in 1897, a public accommodations, or civil rights, act was sanctioned by the lawmakers of the state.

In terms of political significance, the methods and means by which blacks in California encountered and adapted to their Pacific Coast environment by 1900 were perhaps more important than specific milestones. In struggling for first class citizenship, black leaders passed resolutions, circulated petitions, presented memorials to the state legislature, and, in one instance, even framed an amendment to the California constitution in order clearly to transmit the grievances of their people. They supported a black press through which they voiced and debated their collective and individual opinions. Statewide conventions and public rallies, local group and church

meetings, and annual celebrations of memorable events were held regularly in order to dramatize racial injustices. Also, such meetings served to bring blacks together to devise the necessary strategies to attack injustices perpetrated against the black community. By celebrating the Fourth of July, the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, and the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, blacks in the nineteenth century consciously sought, first, to exhibit their patriotism and loyalty to the Union and the Republican party; second, to express themselves on questions relating to the Civil War (e.g., black soldiers and the colonization of the Freedmen); and, third, to press their demand for the vote. Similarly, the statewide Colored Conventions of 1855, 1865, 1873, and 1882 were concrete examples of the use to which blacks put the convention format in determining methods to redress pressing grievances. The Colored Convention of 1855, for example, created the State Executive Committee, a legislative lobbying organization. The founding of the *Mirror of the Times*, California's first black newspaper, was another contribution stemming from the gathering of 1855.²⁰ The Colored Convention of 1865 produced a memorial arguing for black suffrage and a constitutional amendment to alter California's voting regulations.²¹ The Colored Convention of 1873 called attention to the poor quality and segregated nature of black public education in California. Besides dissatisfaction with education, the meeting in 1873 produced the first signs of black dissatisfaction with the Republican party and its policy regarding political patronage for blacks. The next year, the Equal Rights League was founded by Philip Bell, editor of the San Francisco *Elevator* and long-time advocate of black political rights. Because of the lack of political recognition for black Californians, the Equal Rights League declared its independence of the Republican party and supported the Democratic ticket in 1877.²² This revolt on the part of a segment of California's black leadership was repeated in 1882. The Colored Convention of 1882, after overcoming vigorous opposition, decided that supporting the Democratic party would result in more patronage and political rewards for blacks.²³ Likewise, the founding of the Afro-American Leagues, beginning with the city of San Francisco in 1891, represented the concern of black leaders for greater economic opportunities and a sharing in the political spoils derived from black votes. Leaders in the various Afro-American Leagues, however, realized that it was necessary to combine economic and political concerns if they were to undercut the influence of those in the black community who would too readily substitute the Booker T. Washington doctrine of self-help and material advancement for active political participation. Perhaps more than anything, the Leagues' emphasis on racial solidarity represented a protective attitude toward the rights gained by the black community in nineteenth century California.²⁴

The first half of the twentieth century, 1900 to 1950, found spokesmen

in the California black community attempting to consolidate the gains of the 1800's and, with due consideration for changing and enlightened attitudes of the general public toward race, to develop effectively the electoral (political) tools that would secure extended opportunities for blacks in the state's political and social affairs. In 1914-1915, for example, blacks successfully fought against what they believed to be a resurgence of segregated education in the town of Allensworth, Tulare county. Black leaders in all sections of California—already greatly disturbed by signs of growing discrimination in the state—were incensed and outraged when white Assemblyman Fred C. Scott of Visalia, in January, 1915, introduced a legislative bill that would have provided the black town with \$50,000 for an industrial school. They strongly protested and lobbied against the Allensworth plans for a school that obviously, they believed, would be an all-black facility. Oakland's black newspaper, *Sunshine*, on March 20, spoke for many concerned race leaders when it declared: "In view of our peculiar situation here [in California] we must oppose all forms of separation."²⁵ In 1921, the active vigilance of California's first black Assemblyman, Frederick Roberts of Los Angeles, resulted in the barring from schools all educational materials that reflected negatively on minorities.²⁶ Although they proved ineffectual, in 1919 and again in 1923, civil rights measures in the area of public accommodations were passed by the state legislature.²⁷ The Great Depression of the 1930's challenged the resourcefulness of blacks economically, as well as politically. By October, 1933, black people on relief comprised 17.8% of the total black population (81,048) in California. What particularly alarmed black spokesmen was the fact that blacks made up only 1.4% of the state's inhabitants, but comprised 4.3% of the State Relief Administration's case load.²⁸ The reaction of black Californians to the economic crisis was expressed clearly in political terms. Waging a vigorous campaign on the economic issues of the day, Democrat Augustus F. Hawkins defeated the staunchly Republican Roberts in 1934. Hence, Assemblyman Hawkins became the second black legislator and, at age 27, the youngest legislator in the history of California. Hawkins remained at his post until 1962, when he became the first black United States Congressman from California. More important, Hawkins' victory indicated that blacks in California were ready for a new deal. By the middle of the 1930's, California's estimated 57,000 black voters had heeded the popular, but erroneous, axiom: "Lincoln freed us and Roosevelt feeds us."²⁹

In 1941, Governor Culbert L. Olson appointed Edwin L. Jefferson of Los Angeles the first black judge in California. Jefferson's appointment constituted the opening shot of a long, frustrating struggle that was at once economic and political. Led by Assemblyman Hawkins, black Californians, along with their white supporters, sought to curb the spread of postwar discrimination in employment. The rapid population growth of blacks cer-

tainly necessitated stronger regulations in regard to job equality. California's wartime employment opportunities (especially in the shipbuilding industry) during the first half of the 1940's attracted thousands of blacks from the South. From 1940 to 1950, the number of blacks rose from 124,306 (or 1.8% of the total population of 6,907,387) to 462,172 (or 4.4% of the total population of 10,586,223).³⁰ Throughout the 1940's and 1950's, Assemblyman Hawkins and those proponents of equal employment labored unceasingly. Finally in 1959, the California legislature passed a Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) law. But, as the historian Walton Bean suggests, "the law had little effect on the total [employment] situation."³¹

BLACK POPULATION OF CALIFORNIA,
1850-1950*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Decade Increase</i>	<i>Black Population</i>	<i>Per cent of State Total</i>	<i>Decade Increase</i>
1850	92,591	--	962	1.0	--
1860	379,994	310.4	4,086	1.1	326.0
1870	560,247	47.4	4,272	0.8	4.6
1880	864,694	54.3	6,018	0.7	40.8
1890	1,213,398	40.3	11,322	0.9	88.3
1900	1,485,053	32.4	11,045	0.7	2.4
1910	2,377,549	60.1	21,645	0.9	95.9
1920	3,426,861	44.1	38,763	1.1	79.0
1930	5,677,251	65.7	81,048	1.4	109.3
1940	6,907,387	21.7	124,306	1.8	58.3
1950	10,586,223	53.3	462,172	4.4	271.5

By the end of 1948, Assemblyman Hawkins was joined in Sacramento by a second black Assemblyman. Representing the 17th Assembly district of Alameda county, William Byron Rumford became the subject of intense controversy when he successfully sponsored the Fair Housing Act of 1963. The law not only made discrimination in 70% of California housing against public policy, but also created the state machinery to enforce its anti-discrimination provisions. In November, 1964, California voters indicated their opposition to residential desegregation by approving the Constitutional Amendment Proposition 13 and, thereby, nullifying the Rumford Act. It was not until May, 1967, that the United States Supreme Court ruled Proposition 13 unconstitutional. Nevertheless, in 1948, Assemblymen Hawkins and Rumford represented the whole of California's black population. In 1949, the two Assemblymen made their combined presence felt in the legislature by successfully sponsoring legislation that discontinued segregation in the National Guard and eliminated references to race and religion from employment applications.³² Still, by 1950, more than a few

*Source: Rosaline Levenson, "The Negro Vote in California in 1952." (MA thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1953), 3.

black spokesmen would have disputed the assertion made in 1948 by the editor of the Los Angeles *Sentinel*: "Jim Crow is just about dead in California."³³

Out of the maze of restrictions imposed upon blacks in California between 1850 and 1950 and the vexatious problems which resulted, obvious strains appeared, disappeared, and reappeared within the black community. Black people neither perceived nor redressed their grievances uniformly. Around the turn of the century, for example, a sense of profound frustration among influential segments of the black leadership (especially those under Booker T. Washington's influence) underscored a slow move from political activity to political strategem. However, such a move did not represent an absolute retreat from politics by blacks, but merely a search for viable alternatives to what appeared to many blacks a preoccupation with politics. In 1902, the respected black editor George Watkins wrote in his San Francisco *Pacific Coast Appeal*: "To our mind the Negro has wasted entirely too much of his valuable time fooling with politics."³⁴ Then, too, strong personalities and varying political philosophies contributed to many of the strains within the black community. Such internal strains frequently led to attempts by the more vocal leaders in the community to dramatize their discontent by doubling efforts to circulate petitions, introduce memorials in the state legislature, hold public rallies and demonstrations, convene conventions, write editorials and broadsides, pass resolutions, campaign to unseat particularly obnoxious public officials, run for public office, initiate law suits, and bolt party affiliations.

Four significant factors, then, contributed to the making of the history of black people in California. First, there was the idea of the uniqueness of the West as theory and black people in the West as reality. Second, by leaving their places of origin, black people attempted to escape flagrant intolerance, but were caught up again in the snares of racial prejudice once they arrived on the Pacific Coast. Third, in order to gain and then maintain many of their most fundamental liberties, blacks in California had to struggle long and persistently against what often appeared to be insurmountable disadvantages. Finally, the diversity, strains, and continuity of black leadership greatly, and sometimes adversely, affected the efforts of blacks to overcome racial injustice. This was especially true in the 1930's and 1940's when the Democratic party attracted a significantly large number of traditional black Republicans. Within this setting, the political and social development of the black community in California from 1850 to 1950 might be examined more fully.

Hence, from a mid-twentieth century vantage point, the black community was able to assess its political development over the last one hundred years. While not completely successful in eliminating the obstacles of racial prejudice, the state's black leaders turned to the 1950's with the

confidence that it was only a matter of time before black people became full participants in the political life of California. However, two decades were to pass before black spokesmen accepted the view of California's only black state Senator, Mervyn Dymally: "Blacks have made this determination without saying so publicly—they are moving toward political control of their communities."¹⁵ The implications of Senator Dymally's statement evince an extraordinary challenge for the political structure of the state in the 1970's. Senator Dymally's statement further suggests that the realization of electrical power through effective participation in the political structure has roots deep in the history of the political development of the black community in California.

NOTES

1. "The black community" is a collective term. It is used here to denote the recognizably black segments of the population of California. More important, the term "the black community" refers to an aggregate of black people who, although often widely dispersed geographically in the state, share the basic conditions of a common history and life. With rare exceptions, such commonality includes experiences of racial persecution, social discrimination, and political proscriptions. The name of a given city or county used in conjunction with "black community" denotes individual black communities of California, e.g., the San Francisco black community.

2. Although much research on a national and regional scale has been done in black history, especially since the advent of the Civil Rights movement in the early 1960's, little significant study has been achieved in the area of Western black history. More specifically, the history of black people in California has been paid scant attention. A few exceptions, however, can be mentioned: A. Odell Thurman, "The Negro in California to 1890" (MA thesis, University of the Pacific, Stockton, 1945); James A. Fisher, "A Social History of the Negro in California, 1860-1900" (MA thesis, Sacramento State College, 1966); Edward E. France, "Some Aspects of the Migration of the Negro to the San Francisco Bay Area Since 1940" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1962); Lawrence Brooks deGraaf, "Negro Migration to Los Angeles, 1930 to 1950" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1962); Francis M. Lortie, "San Francisco's Black Community, 1870-1890: Dilemmas in the Struggle for Equality" (MA thesis, San Francisco State College, 1970), and Phillip Montesano, "Some Aspects of the Free Negro Question in San Francisco" (MA thesis, University of San Francisco, 1967). While Thurman's treatment of his subject is superficial and inadequately researched (lacking the use of even one of the six black newspapers of the period he studies), the studies of France, deGraaf, Lortie, and Montesano are narrow in time and lacking in breadth. See also: Delilah L. Beasley, *The Negro Trail Blazers of California* (Los Angeles, 1919); Rudolph M. Lapp, "The Negro in Gold Rush California," *Journal of Negro History* [hereafter cited as *JNH*], XLIX (1964), 81-98; Earle H. West, *A Bibliography of Doctoral Research on the Negro, 1933-1966* (Ann Arbor, 1969).

3. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma, The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (Second ed., New York, 1962); Carl N. Degler, *Out of Our Past, The Forces That Shaped Modern America* (New York, 1959), 185.

4. Jack D. Forbes, *Afro-Americans in the Far West: A Handbook for Educators*

(Berkeley, 1966), 23; according to some records, prejudice against Indians and blacks did not exist in California prior to 1848, John Walton Caughey, ed., *The Jacob Y. Stover Narrative: Southwest from Salt Lake City in 1849* (San Francisco, 1937), 177.

5. Eugene H. Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery: Western Anti-Negro Prejudice and the Slavery Extension Controversy* (Urbana, Illinois, 1967), 63.

6. George R. Woolfolk, "Turner's Safety-Valve and Free Negro Western Migration," *JNH*, L (1965), 191; Louis R. Mehlinger, "The Attitude of the Free Negro Toward African Colonization," *ibid.*, I (1916), 276-301; Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, I (Second ed., New York, 1963), 141-146. Emphasis belongs to present writer.

7. *Ibid.*, I, 373-374; Beasley, *Negro Trail Blazers*, 55. Emphasis belongs to the present writer. See also: *Proceedings of the First State Convention of the Colored Citizens of the State of California; held at Sacramento, November 20th, 21st, and 22nd, in the Colored Methodist Church, 1855* (Sacramento, 1855), 3.

8. Lucile Eaves, *A History of California Labor Legislation* (Berkeley, 1910), 104.

9. Joseph Ellison, "The Struggle for Civil Government in California: 1846-1850," *California Historical Society Quarterly* [hereafter cited as *CHSQ*], X (1931), 152; *California, Journal of the Assembly*, 1858, 523-525.

10. *San Francisco Californian*, March 5, 1849.

11. J. D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California* (Oakland, 1948), 134-135. Emphasis belongs to the present writer.

12. Arthur G. Pettit, "Mark Twain's Attitude Toward the Negro in the West, 1861-1867," *Western Historical Quarterly*, I (1970), 61-62.

13. France, "Migration of the Negro," 6-7; Beasley, *Negro Trail Blazers*, 54, 61-62; Eugene H. Berwanger, "The Black Law Question in Anti-Bellum California," *Journal of the West*, VI (1967), 205-220.

14. Berwanger, *Frontier Against Slavery*, 69; J. Ross Browne, *Report of the Debates in the Convention of California, 1849* (Washington, D.C., 1850) 138-152; Peter Burnett, *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer* (New York, 1880), 220-221; James A. Fisher, "The Struggle for Negro Testimony in California, 1851-1863," *Southern California Quarterly*, LI (1969), 313-324.

15. *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 5, 1864; *San Francisco Pacific Appeal*, July 18, 1863; the manuscripts of the *Charlotte L. Browne, et al* case can be found in the document collection of the California Historical Society, San Francisco. See also the Mary "Mammy" Pleasant file in the California Section of the State Library, Sacramento.

16. Brainerd Dyer, "One Hundred Years of Negro Suffrage," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXX (1968), 8. Opposition to black suffrage in California, by and large, was overshadowed by official hostility to the Chinese, who outnumbered blacks in 1870 by 11 to 1, or 49,000 to 4,200; United States, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Population*, 14-15. On January 13, 1870, Senator William M. Gwin, Jr., of Calaveras county, expressed the opinion that the Fifteenth Amendment would degrade the white race to the level of blacks and Chinese. Gwin was particularly concerned over the effect the amendment might have on Chinese in California: "The Chinese population among us is composed almost entirely of males. Of sixty-five thousand Chinese in this State at least fifty thousand are men of voting age." *Union*, January 14, 1870.

17. *Ibid.*, May 26, 1870; February 13, 1872; Oscar Tully Shuck, ed., *Historical Abstract of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1897), 53; Philip A. Bell, the black editor of the *San Francisco Elevator* from 1865 to the 1880's, vigorously objected to the choosing of twelve black men to sit on a coroners jury in the case of a black man's

death. Apparently, editor Bell believed a bad precedent was in the making: *San Francisco Elevator*, November 7, 1874.

18. *Ninth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Instruction of the State of California*, 1880, 5-8; *California, Statutes* (1880), c. XLIV; *Union*, October 9, 1880; *Wysinger v Crookshank*, 82 Cal 588, 720 (1890).

19. James E. Brown to W. W. Moreland, December 7, 1883, *Applications for Notarial Appointment*, State Archives, Sacramento.

20. The *San Francisco Mirror of the Times* was a short-lived weekly, lasting about fourteen months. Although initially established by the Colored Convention of 1855, the weekly was not published until late in 1856. *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, September 9, 1856; *Pacific Appeal*, June 7, 1862; *Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention of the Colored Citizens of the State of California; Held in the City of Sacramento, December 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th 1856* (San Francisco, 1856), 57-62.

21. *Proceedings of the California State Convention of Colored Citizens, 1865* (San Francisco, 1865), 15; *Union*, January 6, 1866; John H. Dorsey, "A Natural Leader of Men," *San Francisco Negro Historical and Cultural Society's California History Series*, II (1965), 2-3.

22. Dorsey, "A Natural Leader," 2-3; *Elevator*, July 4, 11-18, 1874; *San Francisco Pacific Coast Appeal*, May 3, 1902; *Pacific Appeal*, November 11, 1876, June 1-8, 1878.

23. *San Francisco Daily Morning Call*, October 12, 14, 21, 1882; George Tinkham, *California Men and Events, 1769-1890* (Stockton, 1915), 290; T. B. Morton, *Vindication of Hon. M. M. Estee* (San Francisco, 1894), 4-5.

24. *San Francisco Sentinel*, September 20, December 6, 1890; *A Brief History of the Afro-American League of San Francisco; With Some Reference to Its Objectives and What It Has Accomplished* (San Francisco, 1895), n.p.; *Souvenir Programme of the Afro-American League of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1902), 1-5.

25. *Los Angeles California Eagle*, October 3, 1914, January 23, 1915; *Los Angeles New Age*, October 24, 1913; Beasley, *Negro Trail Blazers*, 154-157; *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 10, 1915; *Oakland Sunshine*, March 20, 1915.

26. *California Eagle*, April 2, 1921.

27. *Statutes* (1919), c. CCX (1923), c. CCXXXV. See *Annual Reports of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1915-1938* (New York, 1938), 45.

28. Federal Emergency Relief Administration, *Unemployment Relief Census, October, 1933*; H. Dewey Anderson, *Who Are On Relief in California?* (Sacramento, 1939), 3.

29. *California Eagle*, June 26, November 6, 1936.

30. California, Department of Industrial Relations, Division of Fair Employment Practices, *Negro Californians: Population, Employment, Income, and Education* (Sacramento, 1963), 9; Warren S. Thompson, *Growth and Change in California's Population* (Los Angeles, 1955), 76.

31. Charlotta Bass, *Forty Years: Memoirs from the Pages of a Newspaper* (Los Angeles, 1960), 138; Walton Bean, *California, An Interpretive History* (New York, 1968), 516.

32. *Statutes* (1949), c. CMXXXVIII; *Journal of the Assembly*, 1949, 221, 3126.

33. *Los Angeles Sentinel*, October 7, 1948; *Perez v Sharp* 32 Cal 198 (1948).

34. *Pacific Coast Appeal*, January 18, 1902.

35. Quoted in Robert Maynard, "Blacks Seek Power in the System," *San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle: This World*, July 25, 1971.

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Golden Mountain of Lead: The Chinese Experience in California

It is difficult to over-estimate the role of the Chinese in California history. Chinese labor played a major part in the development of mining, railroads, large-scale agriculture, and urban industry. Racial hostility toward Chinese profoundly effected social class structure, ethical values, and the political environment of nineteenth-century California. The anti-Oriental prejudices first applied to the Chinese were easily passed on to the Japanese and Filipinos. Philip Choy provides a general survey of the role played by Chinese in California history.

"Our knowledge of any past event is always incomplete, probably inaccurate, beclouded by ambivalent evidence and biased historians, perhaps distorted by our own patriotic or religious partisanship."¹

PERSISTENT IN our presentation of history are patriotic themes: America the melting pot, America the asylum for the oppressed, America the land of opportunity. Through this indoctrination we have tried to mold our cosmopolitan population into the patterns of American tradition.

The history of the ethnic minorities is a story inconsistent with these themes. To avoid contradiction, ethnic conflict and its history have therefore conveniently been eliminated from the annals of American history, evidently by the myth that we are all in the one big melting pot.

Historians and sociologists have refuted the theory of the melting pot. Walton Bean wrote: "In California the melting pot in essence was a pressure cooker." Similarly, Stanford Lyman said: "If there was a melting pot, someone forgot to light the fire."²

It is often pointed out that the Jews, Germans, Irish, Italians, Slavs, and all immigrants shared the common experience of prejudices and rejection in the land of promise. Unlike the European immigrant, and like the native Indians and the blacks who were not immigrants by choice, Asians wore a racial uniform. The salient factor is that neither the Chinese nor any other

colored minorities were ever considered to be an ingredient in that melting pot.

Over the centuries the American concept of the Chinese in America and abroad has been a fabrication of contradictory myths. These myths are both flattering and unflattering, depending on the socio-historical climate. Chinese have been held in high esteem and held in contempt, treated with affection, alluded to as being honest, industrious, and highly civilized and despised as being deceitful, immoral and heathen.

The story of the Chinese in America involves the history of two nations separated by the Pacific. Events following the Age of Discovery were to shape the destinies of these two nations: in America, the rise of a new nation, the United States; in Asia the decline of one of the world's oldest civilizations, China.

In the battle for dominance of China trade, western nations colonized and exploited Southeast Asia. After stubborn resistance, China's doors were battered down in defeat by the British in the Opium War of 1839-1842. The opening of China's doors exposed an empire already in decay, possessed by internal rebellion, over-population, lack of arable land, and plagued by natural floods and droughts.³ Following the opium war, increased import of opium and other western goods undermined the economy. The southwest provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien, having the earliest and more constant exposure to the west, were most adversely affected. It was from the major districts centering about the Pearl River Delta, in the province of Kwangtung, that the people emigrated to the United States during the nineteenth century. Widespread banditry, secret society activities, and local wars within that province were additional internal disorders which uprooted the Chinese.⁴

The majority of the population was bounded by strong family ties rooted in the traditions of Confucian orthodoxy. Filial piety demanded the performance of duties towards the family and ancestral worship. Negligence of these duties would provoke disapproval and adverse comments. The population was not prone to emigrate. To leave home was a major decision to be made only under the most dire circumstances. These conditions were found in the province of Kwangtung in the nineteenth century.

Concurrent with these conditions, the spirit of emancipation spread throughout Europe in the 1830's. A search for labor to work in European colonies was made to substitute for slavery. The Chinese, seeking economic relief and opportunity abroad, were sent throughout the world to work in the European colonies. What was intended to be a voluntary system of indentured labor resulted in the notorious "coolie" trade, a system no better, if not worse, than the African slave trade. People, including Chinese, and ships of all nations participated in this lucrative trade of human cargo. The system was well established in China after 1845.⁵ To

replace the African slaves the world now looked toward China or India. Very early in California politics the issue was raised as to whether measures should be taken to restrict Chinese immigration.

To develop California's natural resources, journalists and politicians advocated the introduction of Chinese labor under contract "as an alternative by which benefits of slavery might be enjoyed without some of the external appearance of the system,"⁶ or to "induce a further immigration and settlement of the Chinese to whom the climate and character of these lands [swamplands] are peculiarly suited."

When Senator George B. Tingley introduced a "coolie bill" to authorize the State to contract Chinese laborers, the bill passed the Assembly, but was defeated by forces led by Philip A. Roach. Governor John Bigler also retaliated with a special anti-Chinese message to the legislature.⁷

The aversion to the Chinese had already permeated the minds of Americans by biased reports of early missionaries, traders and diplomats in China, even before the discovery of gold in California.⁸ The debates centering around the issue of importing Chinese labor served only to stir up these latent negative images. In the next decades the Pacific Coast became an Asiatic frontier. The prevailing sentiment of California was anti-Chinese, the moods were hostile, the tone was racial. The underlying issue was the struggle between the society of the free working class verses the monopolies of the capitalists through a system of caste labor. Labor utilized the feelings against the Chinese to build powerful alliances. Anti-Chinese agitation was not a passing phase in California politics. It persisted for decades in shaping the destiny of California's economy.

Chinese in 1849 were mainly of the merchant class and they enjoyed a reputation of "sobriety, order and obedience to laws."⁹ These merchants were astute enough to realize that they were strangers in a strange land. In their eagerness to fit themselves into the California scene, they retained a prominent local citizen, Selim E. Woodworth, as their counsel to act as intermediary.

The year 1852 marked a great influx of the Chinese. Many of these Chinese came under a credit ticket system. By this system, passage was advanced to the emigrant and the debtor was expected to repay this debt out of his future earnings. From descriptions by early writers such as Borthwick and Charles Nordhoff there was little indication of slavery. Borthwick, touring the mines, speculated "it was well known that whole shiploads of Chinamen came . . . under a species of bondage . . . under control by some mysterious celestial influence." He also witnessed that, "their camp was wonderfully clean . . . a great many of them at their toilet, getting their head shaved, or plaiting . . . pigtails, but most of them were at dinner." They were hospitable enough to invite him to dinner.

What Borthwick speculated as the "mysterious celestial influence" was

more likely the contract labor system whereby the labor agent, often a merchant, provided the laborer with food, clothing and lodging, and depending on the situation, paid also for his passage from the native land. At the end of the month the expenses were deducted from the wages of the laborer. It was inevitable that this led to exploitation. By means of this system, many of California's industries had their beginnings. The Chinese laborer worked on the railroads which opened up the vast frontiers, reclaimed swamp lands for farming, and farmed the land. Not all the contractors were Chinese. When profits were huge, as in the case of the railroads, the white agents were in control.¹⁰ Although condemned as immoral when perpetrated by the Chinese, contract labor was in actuality a common practice in the United States. "An Act to Encourage European Immigration," passed by the Congress on July 4, 1864, was in fact an official sanction to the contract system.

In 1852 the formation of Chinese camps along rivers and canyons were noticeable throughout the entire gold region. Hostilities with whites began in the mines followed by decades of invidious and humiliating race legislation. State and local laws were passed again and again in spite of the fact that they were in violation of federal commerce laws and with existing treaty agreements between China and the United States.¹¹ The hostility heightened during periods of depression and recession. The Chinese were especially vulnerable at these times. The decade of the 70's was characterized by the rise and coalition of labor unions and anti-coolie associations with San Francisco leading the movement.¹² The hysteria was enough to incite a Joint Congressional Committee of Congress to investigate the Chinese question in San Francisco in 1876. When that was not enough, California's new Constitution included a special section on the Chinese.¹³ Memorials and protests from the Pacific Coast states ultimately pressured Congress to pass legislation for Chinese exclusion. In 1882 the first of a series of Exclusion Acts was passed and then re-enacted every ten years until in 1902 all exclusion acts were extended indefinitely.

Following the 1882 exclusion act anti-Chinese riots and boycotts failed to abate.¹⁴ By the last decade of the nineteenth century, the Chinese were driven from rural districts into isolated areas within the metropolis, forming the ghetto Chinatowns of today.

At the end of the century the Chinese were shut off from the mainstream, dominated by provincialism within, and faced with discrimination from without. Only the merchant elite made contacts with the outside world, excepting of course, those Chinese engaged in the service industries as laundry men, houseboys, etc. The affairs of the community were now firmly under the influence of the traditional organizations, whose orientation was towards the native land.¹⁵

The outlook of the typical Chinese was that of a sojourner. His purpose

was to achieve economic success as soon as possible and return to China with the evidence of his achievement. Many a returned sojourner had been held in high esteem, especially when his achievements included the benevolence of contributing to building roads and schools for his home village. He in turn enjoyed the prestigious label of "Gum Shan Hak" (Guest from the Golden Mountain). Those even with moderate success were looked upon with envy. This newly won social status inspired other members of the village to venture abroad. For some, the return journey took longer than anticipated and in many cases hopes were never fulfilled.

Before the exclusion acts, the Chinese laborers generally were not able to bring their families with them due to economic reasons. The type of work they were engaged in, railroad building, reclamation, and agriculture was migratory and temporary. It was the merchants, or those with established occupations, who had the means to bring their spouses or to take a concubine in the United States. The disparity between men and women was therefore great, and consequently the population of the native-born Chinese was small. In 1900 the excess of male over female was 86.6% and the native-born Chinese was 10% of the total Chinese population in the United States.¹⁶ Children were raised as Chinese and they accepted Chinese values of the old world.

Even under the influence of the value system of the old world there was the emergence of the Chinese-American consciousness. Chinese-American organizations began to appear. In 1895, an organization known as the Native Sons of the Golden West (later changed to Chinese American Citizens Alliance) was chartered in San Francisco by a small group of native-born Americans of Chinese ancestry.¹⁷ Their primary goal was to "quicken the spirit of American patriotism . . . to make secure their citizen rights."¹⁸

Politics in China were to continue to reinforce the Chinese orientation for the next three decades. China at the end of the nineteenth century was on the verge of collapse after half a century of assault by western powers. In a last effort to save China, a group of young scholars headed by Kang-Yu-Wei and Liang Chi Chao initiated a reform movement under the Emperor Kang Ksu. The movement failed and the Emperor was imprisoned by his aunt, the Empress Dowager, Tsu Hsi. Both Kang-Yu-Wei and Liang Chi Chao fled overseas with a price on their heads. Contemporary with these activities was another party led by Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who believed in revolution rather than reform. Sun also fled overseas with a price on his head. Both the reform party and the revolutionary party sought support and finance from the overseas Chinese population. During the next decades, Chinese communities were intricately entangled with activities to establish military schools and newspapers.¹⁹

The shock of World War I shattered America's prevailing faith in the

melting pot. Suspicion of the loyalty of her European immigrant stock led to investigations which revealed cases of third generation Americans who could not speak English. Many committees were formed to further the great "Americanization" movement.

For the Chinese, the process contained many contradictions. Americanization was ceremonial in the guarantee of equal rights and equal opportunities, but in practice, the door to social, political, and economic equality was closed.²⁰ His racial uniform stigmatized him as a member of a race which was ostracized. Racial consciousness intensified both within himself and in the community which he sought to be a part of. One student in an essay wrote:

My patriotism is of a different hue and texture. It was built on the mound of shame. The ridicule heaped upon the Chinese race has long fermented within my soul. I have concluded that we, the younger generation, have nothing to be proud of except the time-worn accomplishment of our ancient ancestors; we have been living in the shadow of these glories, hoping that these arts and literature of the past will justify our present.

The second generation of Chinese and subsequent generations had grave doubts about the success of Americanization. Therein begins the bi-cultural complexity of the marginal man. For many, the foremost concern was the question: Where does our future lie? In America or in China? The majority seemed to favor China.²¹ With the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912, more pressure was put on the Chinese-American to look toward China. Chinese-Americans were encouraged to take up aviation in the United States to begin China's Air Force.²² There was, however, a language difficulty, as most American-born were not fluent in Chinese. While the majority of opinions favored a future in China, there was little evidence that many Chinese-Americans went to China to seek their careers.

Unknown to the Chinese, the rise of the Republic of China was the beginning of a new tide. Awakened China began to build a stronger nation. Japan, too, if she were to be a power in Asia, must begin to expand. Since the opening of her door on July 3, 1853, by Commodore Perry, Japan had emerged a westernized nation ready to challenge the United States in Asia by the end of the nineteenth century.

The rise of Japan threatened her relations with the United States, which had already been strained over the treatment of the Japanese in America. The Japanese in the United States by the twentieth century had dominate positions in the fields of agriculture and fisheries. The Japanese controlled and owned land. In California in 1920 they owned 45,056 acres of agricultural acreage, controlled 80% to 90% of the vegetable and berry products, and 80% of the tomato crop.²³ Fishing activities on the Pacific

Coast brought suspicion that they were spies and therefore constituted a menace to national security. Anti-Oriental legislation in the twentieth century was mainly directed against them, but it also affected the Chinese. Now that Chinese labor competition was restrained and immigration under control, the Chinese were looked upon somewhat more favorably. The Chinese were seen as not ambitious in a worldly way: they did not own land, they were loyal to their employers. But the Japanese were directly opposite: they owned land; they were competitive; they went into business for themselves.

During World War II, the Chinese-Americans were in a still more favorable position as China was now allied against a common enemy. With the manpower shortage, Chinese-Americans were accepted in war industries, and private industries also lowered their barriers.

A timely visit to the United States by Madame Chiang Kai Shek propelled the image of the Chinese to a new height. Never had the spirit and morale of the Chinese in America been so high, as front page after front page carried the news of China's first lady across the nation. She possessed all the qualifications acceptable to Americans. She spoke English flawlessly, she was educated in one of our colleges, and above all, she was a Christian. Common efforts in fund drives for the war effort, Red Cross, war bond drives, and blood bank drives, brought the Chinese community into contact with the mainstream. The dominant society had become the "host" society.

Incongruous with this new found camaraderie was the embarrassing issue of the Chinese exclusion acts. Now was a time to repeal the exclusion acts to cement ties. Many super-patriotic organizations, such as the Blue Star Mothers, Daughters of the American Revolution, Native Sons of the Golden West, the A.F. of L., and V.F.W. were still anti-Chinese but their reactions were neutralized by a carefully planned campaign.²⁴ So in 1943, the exclusion laws were repealed through the passage of the Magnuson Bill. A token quota of 105 was allotted for Chinese citizenships. Yet this was the beginning of a new and amicable immigration policy toward the Chinese.

In the years following, the Chinese in America began to see a glitter in the Golden Mountain. Opportunities continued to open as Chinese were accepted in governmental agencies, in private industries, and in institutions. There was a major exodus from the confines of Chinatown, in spite of restrictive real estate covenants. A group of middle class Chinese emerged. With greater contact with the mainstream, the mutation of their cultural heritage became apparent in their children. Third, fourth, and fifth generations, reared outside of the ghettos of native-born parents, had become American in culture and Chinese in facade only.

Those who remained in the ghettos were of the older generation: the

sojourners, the senior citizens, the merchants whose life style had always centered about Chinatown. The traditional organizations which dominated the community hung on tenaciously to status and power and continued to venerate old world values. They maintained their isolation by choice. In their isolation they have not kept pace with present day social forces.

Inwardly, San Francisco's Chinatown remained a ghetto with the typical problems of all ghettos. Outwardly, she presented her best face. The activities of the communities consisted in the earning and promoting of good-will toward the dominant society. A colorful and picturesque Chinatown dazzled the tourist with festivals and enticed him with Chinese cuisine. Every spring the Golden Dragon reared its head to attract thousands, as did the activities imitating those of the dominant society with its own beauty pageants and "queen" contests. The clan associations, under the ruling and governing leadership known as the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Associations, now drew admiration for providing leadership. To the outside world every Chinese belonged to a closely knit family of hundreds or even thousands that actively worked in its own behalf as protector, benefactor and, if necessary, as provider. Chinatown had gained an air of respectability.

National coverage brought to the attention of the nation that the Chinese were . . . "one of the only racial minorities who forged ahead without assistance from any governmental or public agency." It suggested that a study of the adversity and prejudice overcome by the nation's 300,000 Chinese-Americans be made known to permit adoption of some of the methods used by this minority group in achieving its unique success. The Chinese were only too eager to assume and perpetuate this new role of success.

The relaxing of immigration laws in the 50's and 60's permitted the growth of more normal families with an increase of native-born children. Added to this population was an increase in immigration in 1962 when the Hong Kong Refugee Act was passed. Major communities, such as San Francisco and New York, were natural centers of gravitation. Population increase brought on a critical housing shortage. Squalid conditions added to health and sanitation problems. Language barriers often prevented employment. The problems of old Chinatown were now regenerated.

In San Francisco a sleeping Chinatown was rudely awakened when a local newspaper ran a series calling attention to the "other face of Chinatown." The establishment responded by pointing out past achievements of Chinatown.²⁵

The Civil Rights movement of the 1960's, emanating from the black ghettos, gave inspiration to the younger members of the Chinese communities. In San Francisco, leadership came from those who were more recent

arrivals and therefore less inhibited by the power and dominance of the establishment. Together they joined forces with a few social workers of the community to challenge the traditional authorities of Chinatown. Adopting militant tactics, they shook the foundation of Chinatown out of its complacency. Thus has the dirty laundry of Chinatown been dragged out and aired in public.

The issues initially focused on grievances of youths. The scope broadened to encompass the social ills of Chinatown. On August 17, 1968, demonstrators marched through Chinatown with placards and slogans protesting the intolerable social conditions of Chinatown. From the problems in the community came an awareness of rights to better education and employment.

At a recent Board of Education meeting at a local high school in San Francisco, youth organizations, associations of teachers, and social workers participated together. A parade of speakers presented the board with programs in the interest of the community. Conspicuously absent was the traditional voice of Chinatown.

After almost a century of degradation, the Chinese were only too glad to accept their new role as a model of success. The current civil rights movement, however, has brought about an awareness of the shortcomings of American democracy in practice. Many of the younger Chinese are following the trend of the revolutionary 60's toward social reform.

NOTES

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2. Walton Bean, *California An Interpretive History* (New York, 1968). Dr. Stanford Lyman, "Neglected Matters in Chinese American History," *Bulletin, Chinese Historical Society of America* (June, 1970), 2.
3. See Ta Chen, *Chinese Migrations, with Special Reference to Labor Conditions* (Taipei, 1967), 5-11; T. W. Chinn, H. M. Lai, P. P. Choy, *A History of Chinese in California, A Syllabus* (San Francisco, 1969), 11-13.
4. For banditry and secret society activities and local feuds in particular to Kwangtung Province, see: Kung-Chuan Hsiao, *Rural China* (Seattle, 1967), 423-426; and T. W. Chinn, *et al.*, *Chinese in California*, 11-12.
5. See Persia Crawford Campbell, *Chinese Coolie Emigration* (London, 1923), xviii.
6. Paul Taylor, "Foundation of California Rural Society," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXIV (September, 1945), 194.
7. See *Journal of 3rd Session, Legislature State of California* (April 23, 1852) 373.
8. See Creighton Steward Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant* (Berkeley, 1969) 16-80.
9. H. H. Bancroft, *Retrospection* (New York, 1912), 346-348.

10. The larger contractors were white firms such as Sisson, Wallace & Co., The Pacific Chinese Employment Co., King & Merritt Proprietors.
11. For a detailed account on state and local laws from 1852 to 1867 see: Lucile Eaves, *A History of California Labor Legislation* (Berkeley, 1910), 105-124.
12. The relationship between labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement is discussed by Ira B. Cross, *A History of Labor Movement in California* (Berkeley, 1935).
13. For a detailed account of The Joint Congressional Committee of Investigation and the State Constitution of 1879 see: Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana, Illinois, 1939) 57-77, 82-91.
14. According to Elmer C. Sandmeyer, riots began in Rock Springs, Wyoming, and shortly afterward the West Coast was inflamed simultaneously in Tacoma, Seattle, etc.
15. The term "traditional organizations" refers to the Chinese Six Companies, clan (known as family), and district associations and secret societies commonly known as highbinders or erroneously as tongs.
16. The number of native born in 1870 was 517; in 1880 was 1183; in 1890 was 2930; in 1900 was 9010.
17. Y. C. Hong, *A Brief History of the Chinese American Citizens Alliance*, Grand Lodge Chinese American Citizens Alliance (November, 1955) 1.
18. *26th Biennial National Convention*, Chinese American Citizens Alliance (San Francisco, 1961), 9.
19. However, an unpublished Ph.D. thesis by James William Moran, "The Chinese Revolution of 1911 as affected by the Chinese in America and American Public Opinion" (University of Colorado, 1949), covers this phase of history academically, in spite of using Carl Glick's *Double Ten* as one of its sources. Records of actual parade reports are included.
20. Eliot Grinnell Mears, *Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast* (Chicago, 1928), 198-201. Occupational prejudices are described by officials of seven far western colleges in reports.
21. The discussion of "Does My Future Lie in China or America" as the result of an essay contest reveals the thoughts of the second generation. This is found in the *Chinese Digest*, July 3, 1936, 5; June 12, 1936, 5; June 5, 1936, 5. Relating to the dim view of success see: "A Speech on Second-Generation Chinese in U.S.A.," *Chinese Digest* (August 7, 1936) 6, 14.
22. See *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 23, 1914, 5; May 5, 1917, 38; May, 7, 1917, 2.
23. *California and the Oriental* (Sacramento, 1920) 7, 8.
24. Fred Riggs, *Pressures on Congress* (New York, 1950), 42-91.
25. Jane E. Conant, "The Other Face of Chinatown; Poor Nutrition, Crowding cited," *San Francisco Examiner*, August 14, 1967 and August 15, 1967.

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The Lord and the Drayman: James Bryce vs. Denis Kearney

Historian Alexander Saxton has called the anti-Chinese movement in California organized labor's "indispensable enemy." Protection against the economic competition of Chinese immigrants, combined with racial prejudice, helped convince California's white workers of the need for labor and political organization. A prime example was Denis Kearney's Workingmen's Party, which gained control of San Francisco government in the late 1870's. British traveler and scholar Lord James Bryce was one of the most perceptive contemporary observers of "Kearneyism." Russell Posner analyses the attitudes of both Kearney and Bryce through a study of the correspondence which passed between the two men.

IN 1888 LORD JAMES BRYCE, the distinguished British scholar and statesman, published his classic work on government and society in the United States, *The American Commonwealth*. The second volume contained a chapter titled "Kearneyism in California," a highly critical account of Denis Kearney and the Workingmen's Party movement of 1877-79. Kearney sent Bryce a blistering rebuttal to the chapter, and in a subsequent exchange of letters moved Lord Bryce to make some modifications in later editions of his work. The letters between Bryce and Kearney are to be found in the Bryce Papers at the Bodleian Library in Oxford.

California in the middle 1870's was a place of depression and discontent. Unemployment stood at record heights, while at the same time a tide of Chinese immigration was entering the state. In better days the competition of Chinese for low-paying jobs in mining, agriculture, and industry had caused some complaint, but now white Californians found stronger reasons for their racial and cultural hostility. In San Francisco some 20% of the population was Oriental, and as early as 1872 almost half of the factory jobs in the city were held by Chinese. Unemployed white workers looked upon the Chinese as economic enemies. In particular, working-class Irish-Americans (who also amounted to about 20% of the population of San Francisco) found reason to combine their anti-Chinese prejudice with complaints about political corruption and business monopolies in the state. Many un-

employed or threatened workers felt the only remedy for political and social ills to lie in a workers' party.

During the summer and fall of 1877, disgruntled citizens began holding meetings around the city, particularly on the "sand lots" near the uncompleted city hall. A leader soon emerged—Denis Kearney. Kearney (1847-1907) was born in Ireland, and arrived in San Francisco as the 21-year-old mate of a sailing ship. By the time of the sand lots excitement, he was owner of a small drayage business. Although he lacked formal education, he was not without some learning and he spoke with vigor as well as emotion. He denounced monopoly and political corruption, but whatever the subject he returned constantly to his slogan, "The Chinese Must Go!" He was arrested for his incendiary language, but was acquitted on the grounds that no proved violence had resulted from his words.

By October, 1877, a new political force arose, the Workingmen's Party of California. Kearney was party secretary; later he became president; finally (to the joy of political cartoonists) he assumed the title of Lieutenant General. The Workingmen's Party favored not only restriction on the Chinese, but many progressive measures ultimately adopted—the eight-hour day, state regulation of railroads and other corporations, tax reform, compulsory education, and popular election of U.S. senators. The new party soon spread to other parts of the state. Its growth coincided with a strong movement to replace the 1849 constitution with a new document. Kearney's group saw its opportunity in June, 1878, when elections were held for delegates to a constitutional convention. Workingmen's Party delegates were nominated in every district, to the dismay of conservatives of both old parties. In response to the threat of a Workingmen's convention, Democrats and Republicans joined forces in many districts to put up "non-partisan" candidates. Even so, the Workingmen carried 51 out of 152 seats. The best showing of the new party was in San Francisco, where the Workingmen won easily, seating 30 delegates.

Although they lacked a majority at the convention, the Workingmen were able, by combining with farm delegates, to make some modifications in the new constitution. Anti-Chinese regulations were inserted in the document. The legislature was authorized to protect California from "dangerous aliens"; Chinese were forbidden to work for private corporations or on public works; and curbs were placed on "coolie" labor entering the state. The new constitution also set up a commission to regulate the railroads and empowered a state board of equalization to assess land-taxes more equitably.

The constitution was adopted by a narrow margin in 1879. The Workingmen's Party, its aims largely achieved, disintegrated and virtually disappeared by 1880. Returning prosperity, internal dissention, and the hostility of the two traditional parties also contributed to its demise. Kearney returned to his business interests and to obscurity.

The new constitution soon proved to be a disappointment to its working class backers. The anti-Chinese provisions were eventually overturned by the Federal courts. Judicial decisions also largely nullified the tax reforms and the railroad controls, as did the actions of corrupt members of state regulatory agencies. Effective regulation of the railroads did not take place until the election of Governor Hiram W. Johnson in 1910.

However, in 1882 Kearney's goal of Chinese exclusion was achieved. A Federal law was enacted prohibiting Chinese immigration for ten years. In 1892 the statute was renewed for another ten years and in 1902 the ban was made permanent. Not until 1943, during World War II, was the Chinese Exclusion Act finally repealed.

In telling the story of Kearneyism, Lord Bryce based his account on the local California newspapers, a personal visit to the state in 1881, and written correspondence with some Californians. Bryce castigated Kearney and his movement. He called Kearney a "contemptible demagogue" and an "ignorant man" whose speeches were "dressed up" for him by others. The author saw Kearney as a destructive person, "self-confident" and "domineering," with no real program of action beyond his immediate goals. Bryce stated that Kearney merely rode the crest of a wave and then disappeared forever, a "spent rocket."

In October, 1889, Bryce returned to England from a journey abroad. He found waiting for him a long letter from Denis Kearney in San Francisco. In the letter, written three months previously on July 22, Kearney declared that Bryce's account in *The American Commonwealth* "ought not to be allowed to go uncontradicted." He said: "I was in the habit of reading enough lies in the daily Papers every day without being called upon to turn over the pages of history and find them full of falsehoods." Kearney claimed that he was entitled to a hearing. He was furious at being called a "contemptible demagogue." The agitator objected particularly to Bryce's statement: "When I was in San Francisco in the fall of 1881, people talked of Kearney as a spent rocket. Some did not know whether he was in the city. Others said that the Capitalists had rendered him harmless by the gift of a new dray and team. It seemed certain that he had become the owner of his house." Kearney claimed that these remarks were "stale slanders" circulated by his enemies for years. "I was the owner of a fine house many years before I began to agitate. The Capitalists did not furnish me with a new dray or anything else, but they did furnish you with a good many lies about me which you accepted as gospel truth."

Kearney expressed anger that Bryce had not tried to meet him during his visit to San Francisco. "If you wanted, you could easily have found me as nearly everybody in San Francisco knows where I live." The drayman ended by saying: "You were prejudiced in advance and you carried your

prejudices into your book. . . . Am I not justified in saying that I know history to be a lie and that you helped to write it?"

Bryce answered his correspondent in a mild tone. He wrote Kearney on October 26: "You express yourself with some warmth, but it is natural that warmth should arise where personal questions are concerned." The author claimed to have taken the utmost pains to acquire trustworthy information which he had revised and corrected by "a gentleman thoroughly conversant with California affairs, and whose impartiality I could rely on." (This gentleman, judging from the Bryce Papers, was Bernard Moses, who thought the Kearney movement was fundamentally harmless but stupid, and said of its collapse: "When a cause is worn out by foolish talk, it is gone forever.")

In his letter, Bryce stated that he was unprejudiced and had no intention to misrepresent the acts and words of Kearney. The British author invited Kearney to send him corrections on particular points in the book. "I shall be willing to modify (in the new edition I am about to publish) any passages which you can prove to me to be inaccurate." If Bryce was not convinced that a particular passage required alteration, he was ready to add a footnote that Kearney denied or contested the statement.

The conciliatory tone of Bryce's letter may have been dictated by two factors. One was an innate sense of fair play. After all, Bryce had neither interviewed Kearney personally nor had he corresponded with him before writing the California chapter. The author evidently felt that Kearney had the right to express his views in the controversy. A second reason was that Bryce was facing a major law suit on another chapter dealing with Tammany Hall.

In 1889, the author of *The American Commonwealth* was sued for libel by the former mayor of New York, Oakey Hall. Hall, a member of the notorious Tweed Ring, claimed damages of £10,000. A commission was set up in New York to investigate the charges. Bryce pleaded that the statements in the book were true and that the Tammany chapter contained only matters of fair comment on historical events. Twenty-three witnesses testified for Bryce. The only witness to appear for Hall was Peter B. Sweeney, a colleague in the Tweed Ring. The hearing ran to 380 pages of testimony. Bryce prepared for trial after the evidence was collected and sent to England. Hall, however, made no effort to pursue the matter further. An English judge finally ordered Hall to pay Bryce's legal costs. The former New York mayor went back to America without paying. Technically, Bryce had won. However, several years had passed in this legal activity and Bryce never recovered his expenses of over £1,000. Although it was highly unlikely that Denis Kearney would sue, Lord Bryce was probably inclined to be cautious in dealing with his California critic.

Kearney, given the opportunity for rebuttal, replied with a 20 page letter

on November 17. He wrote with pride that California had pioneered the movement to end Chinese immigration to America. "My next fight will be to get Canada to pass an anti-Chinese exclusion law." He told Bryce: "This, my dear Sir, must not be considered a voice from the tomb. I am a young man just turning 43, chockfull of vitality and a great deal of experience. While I may not to able to set the world afire, I am in hopes of living long enough to see the Asiatic hordes excluded from the Continent, from Cape Horn to Icy Cape." Kearney boasted of his sinophobia and of the effectiveness of his oratory. He claimed that in a speaking tour of the East in 1877-78, he raised the Chinese issue "from a local to a great national question."

To the charge that he was an ignorant man, Kearney replied: "True, I am not one of the literati—that is to say a professor of degrees and a master of languages—although I can speak more than one. . . . For more than 30 years, I have been a great reader and close student of men and measures. I too have circumnavigated the globe and visited many parts of the earth's surface. You ought to give me more credit for knowing a little something." Kearney denied that any reporters had written his speeches for him or "dressed them up" for publication. On the contrary, the agitator claimed that the press garbled and misinterpreted his remarks.

Kearney labeled as misleading the statement: "He was a drayman by trade." The orator stated that he had originally been a sailor and held a certificate as a master mariner. "I resigned from a steamship company . . . and purchased a teaming business so as to be with my family." Kearney also denied a charge that he was an apostate Catholic who reviled his native religion.

In his book, Bryce had said that Kearney was without "political foresight or constancy of purpose." The agitator replied: "I had the 'political foresight' to see the effects of such an organization [the Workingmen's Party] intelligently, unselfishly, and honestly lead [sic], and the 'constancy of purpose' to keep it up until I accomplished what I wanted, viz—the putting of a stop to Chinese immigration."

Kearney contradicted the statement that he had not made the Workingmen's movement but had merely rode on its crest. He claimed to have been the driving force behind the movement. Kearney said that he attended as many as five meetings a night during the organization of the new party. Whenever spirits were flagging, he returned to the clubs that he had founded to stir them anew with his oratory.

Kearney said that the sand lot meetings were a necessity because the San Francisco authorities would not grant him permission to use regular public halls. He claimed that these sand lot gatherings raised from \$500 to \$1,000 each time they met, contradicting Bryce's remark that only "vagabonds" listened to Kearney at first. The orator denied that he ever told a crowd of

followers that torches should be applied to the mansions of the railroad magnates on Nob Hill. On the contrary, police shorthand reporters who took down his speeches could find no such statement. Kearney told Bryce that he was against strikes and political riots. Success could come to the working class movement only through the ballot box and political organization.

Bryce said in *The American Commonwealth* that Kearney's delegates at the state constitutional convention were ignorant men, "without experience or constructive ideas." This Kearney denied. He said that his delegation included intelligent farmers, mechanics, merchants, and lawyers. According to Kearney, the Workingmen's group played an important part in the formulation of the new constitution. The agitator also disagreed with a statement that he had played a minor role in the campaign to adopt the 1879 constitution. Kearney claimed to have delivered 130 speeches in support of the new document. "I doubt very much Mr. Bryce if you, with all your knowledge and learning, could have worked up a new speech every day and kept it up for weeks. I had to stand the brunt of battle and came very near being assassinated for my pains."

To the point that the Workingmen's movement "fell as quickly as it rose," Kearney retorted: "It stopped when I stopped. That was after accomplishing what we desired." To the charge that he had played no part in California politics since 1880, Kearney replied that the Chinese question was being solved and that the people had been shown their immense power and how it could be used. "The plains of the state were strewn with the festering carcasses of public robbers." So Kearney quit politics, he said, because of success, not failure. The drayman also had to return to work to provide a livelihood for his poor family. He denied any interest in holding public office.

Kearney ended his long letter by saying: "I owe no one a cent. I always paid one hundred cents on the dollar. . . . I never received a dollar from public service or private parties for my services. . . . I leave it in your hands to do justice."

Bryce was as good as his word. Parts of Kearney's letter were included in an appendix to volume II in the 2nd edition. Although remaining quite critical, Bryce made a number of textual changes that softened the attack on Kearney. Four examples will suffice. "He was a drayman by trade, Irish by birth, brought up a Roman Catholic, but accustomed to include his religion among the established institutions he reviled" became: "He was Irish by birth, and though in business a drayman, had some experience as a sailor, and held a masters certificate." Also, "The orator was an ignorant man with no ideas beyond those he gathered from the daily press" was changed to: "The orator was an imperfectly educated man with ideas chiefly gathered from the daily press." Again, "Kearney had no plans be-

yond keeping the party going, but he was self-confident, domineering, and not without practical shrewdness" was transformed into: "Kearney was not without shrewdness and address." Lastly, "The demagogue himself was contemptible" became "The demagogue himself was not formidable." The author apparently communicated these changes to Kearney in a letter now missing from the Bryce Papers.

The correspondence between Kearney and Bryce ended with a pleasant message from Kearney on January 11, 1890. The drayman said: "I am very pleased at what you have done and am well satisfied that you meant to write impartially. . . . Your actions have convinced myself and my friends that you are a fair man." Kearney closed by noting that Bryce was also Irish by birth. "I am always proud of the children of that unhappy and unfortunate island who hew their way through life and leave a footprint on the sands of time. . . . Many thanks for your very courteous letter and the fairness shown by giving your readers my statement."

In his later editions, Lord Bryce added a paragraph at the end of his California chapter that was eminently fair to Denis Kearney. With mature judgment Bryce summed up the importance of the Workingmen's Party in a broader historical perspective. He wrote: "The movement which gave birth to the new constitution was a legitimate political movement. It was crude in its aims and tainted with demagogery in its methods. But it was evoked by real evils and it sought however ignorantly the public good. Kearney had no sordid personal aim to serve and gained for himself nothing more solid than notoriety. His agitation was essentially the same as that which has appeared in the Western states under the forms of Grangeism, the Farmers Alliance, and Populism."

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The letters between James Bryce and Denis Kearney are contained in the Bryce Papers in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (U.S.A. vol 25, folios 132-158). Correspondence with Bernard Moses is found in the same volume, while volume 24 has material on the Tammany law suit. The comparison between the texts on "Kearneyism in California" is taken from volume II of Bryce's *The American Commonwealth* (1st edition, 1888, and 3rd edition, 1913). A recent study of Bryce's extensive travels in the United States and his general writings about America is Edmund Ions, *James Bryce and American Democracy, 1870-1922* (1970). There is a brief, amusing chapter on Kearney in Richard Dillon, *Humbugs and Heroes* (1970). The Workingmen's Party is dealt with in Ralph Kauer's article, "The Workingmen's Party of California," *Pacific Historical Review*, XIII (September, 1944), 278-291. There is also a contemporary account of the movement by Henry George, "The Kearney Agitation in California," *Popular Science Monthly*, XVII (August, 1880), 433-453.

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Historical Review, XXV (September, 1938), 181-196, and Henryk Sienkiewicz, "The Chinese in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXIV (December, 1955), 301-316. See also Alexander P. Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy* (Berkeley, 1967).

"THE CHINESE MUST GO!"

by ROGER OLMSTED



THE SLOGAN that the rabble-rousing labor leader Denis Kearney used to such dramatic effect in the San Francisco of the late 1870's commands our attention as perhaps the only catch phrase in American history that ever "solved" a major race problem. For not long after a great many Chinese did go, with the result that those remaining constituted an increasingly small minority in the growing state of California.

What was "the Chinese Problem"? In 1876, the year before Denis started howling "The Chinese Must Go!" at sand lot meetings of San Francisco workingmen, the Chinese Six Companies estimated the oriental population of California at 148,600. As the total population of the state was perhaps 750,000, and as most of the Chinese were working age males, a very high proportion of the labor force was oriental. If the Six Companies estimate was close to correct, there were about as many Chinese as there were voters in the 1876 elections. In San Francisco, with its high concentration of Chinese, it is possible that the ratio



To make seed Havanas
By covert addition
Of dry cabbage leaves
Is the Coolie's ambition.

of unskilled and semi-skilled white workers to Chinese was approaching one-to-one.

While there was good enough reason for white workingmen in the 1870's to fear the competition of cheap labor, anti-Chinese agitation and legislation had appeared in the gold rush years as an expression of a general antipathy to foreigners so presumptuous as to dig up the gold that God had buried for good Americans. With the decline of gold production after 1853, antagonism toward modestly successful Chinese miners sharpened. In 1855 the legislature attempted to prevent any "Mongolian" from entering the state; in 1862 the first anti-coolie club was formed, and Governor Stanford (soon to become a celebrated coolie importer) said,

"The presence among us of numbers of degraded and distinct people must exercise a deleterious influence upon the superior race. . . ." By the middle '60's anti-Chinese feeling deepened: California refused to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment, and San Francisco trade unionists, powerful and well organized in the immediate post-Civil War years, marched in anti-coolie demonstrations.

Legislation in Sacramento and San Francisco and mass murder in Los Angeles got the anti-Chinese '70's underway. Lynching never caught on, but legislation proved a perennial sport. For instance, a San Francisco ordinance of 1873 took an imaginative poke at Chinese laundrymen by taxing laundries as follows: 1) \$2.00 quarterly for laundries employing one horse-drawn vehicle; 2) \$4.00 quarterly for laundries employing two or more vehicles; 3) \$15.00 quarterly for laundries employing *no* vehicles.

Unconstitutional laws and ordinances failed to slow Chinese immigration, and the serious depression of 1877 put the poorer classes out of humor with legal hanky-panky. Without "coolie" competition, the workingmen of California would have been in a bad enough way in the late '70's. What Henry George had told Californians that the railroad would bring, the railroad had brought—oversupply of labor, cut-rate competition from Eastern manufacturers, and



And these are the weeds
That our exquisites smoke.
"White Labor Cigars"—
'Tis a very good joke.

depression. The Chinese added a problem which would not be solved by economic theory, strikes, or troops, for the Chinese worker would live on wages smaller than those an American thought necessary for bare subsistence. And more Chinese came every month.

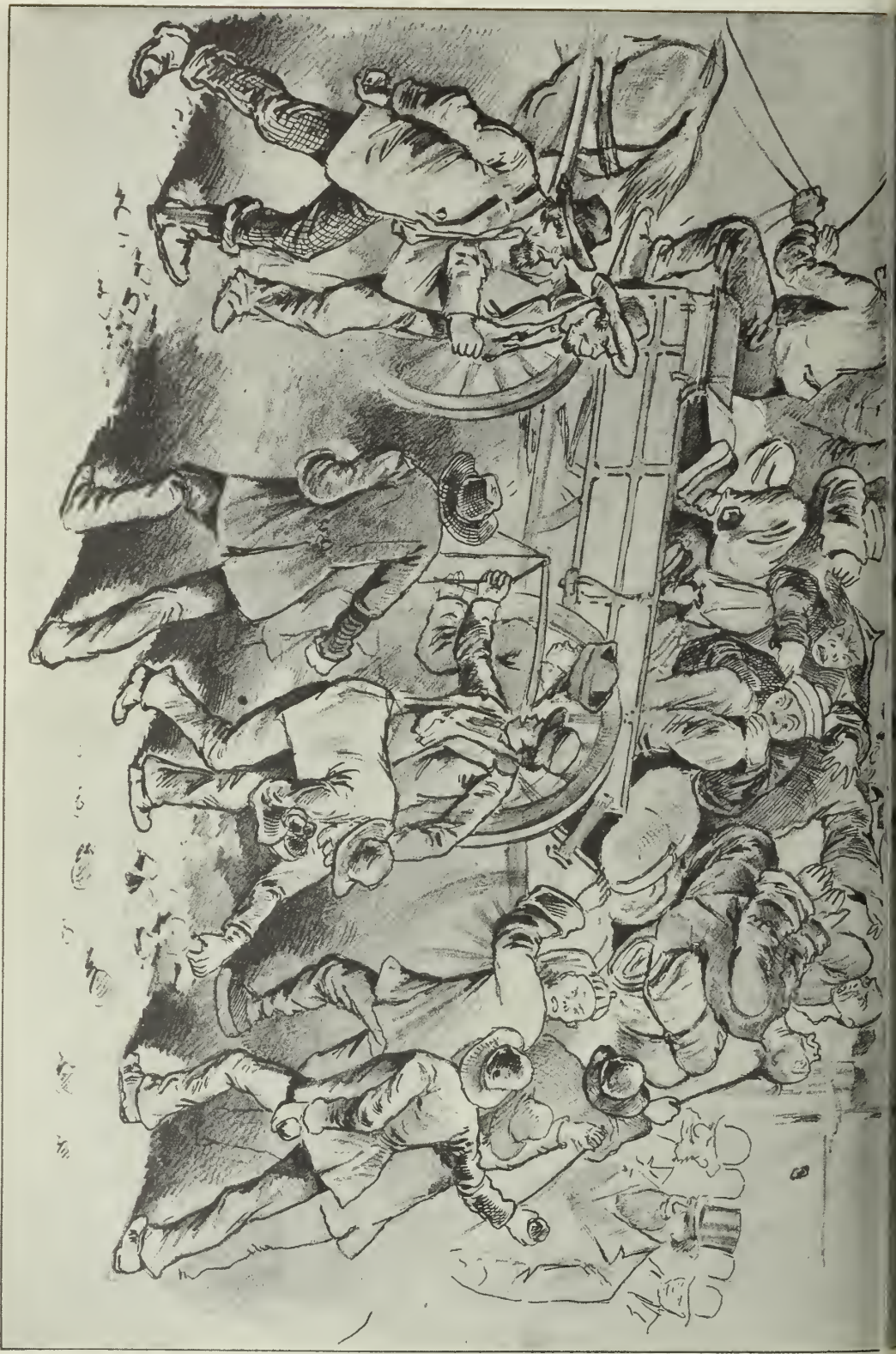
"The Chinese Must Go!" was a demand that everyone could understand, and that was relevant (though not central) to the economic crisis at hand. Thus it was that poor John Chinaman was responsible for the organization of the Workingmen's Party of California, for raising an Irish demagogue who threw a fright in solid folk as far away as

Boston, for forcing the Republican and Democratic parties in California to club together for mutual protection against the threat of socialism, and for agitating national politics for a decade.

The position of the thoughtful political journalist was very awkward—as the inconsistent tone of *The San Francisco Illustrated Wasp* cartoons indicates. The savage drawings of the gifted Frederick Keller vacillated between attacks on the Chinese as a real threat to the economic position of white labor and swipes at simple minded racism. While *The Wasp* supported Chinese exclusion and was at the outset sympathetic to the workingmen's movement, it impartially attacked hypocrisy and blind xenophobia. In Denis Kearney it found a choice target for satire: the Irish drayman had affected a military title in the Workingmen's Party, and from that time he was portrayed as an ass in a lieutenant-general's uniform.

"General" Kearney hardly deserves the entire credit or blame for the restriction of Chinese immigration beginning in 1882, though he will always be associated with his favorite and famous slogan. Curiously, for all the fiery and threatening rhetoric, it was not in San Francisco but in such backwoods communities as Tacoma that there was violent mob action against the Chinese. In general, the Chinese (unlike Indians or blacks) were fortunate in having a home to go to; great numbers had always intended to return to China with their savings, and with the restriction of further immigration the Chinese colony gradually decreased in absolute numbers and rapidly decreased in relative size.

RECEPTION OF ASIATIC EMIGRANTS IN THE PRESENT TIME.



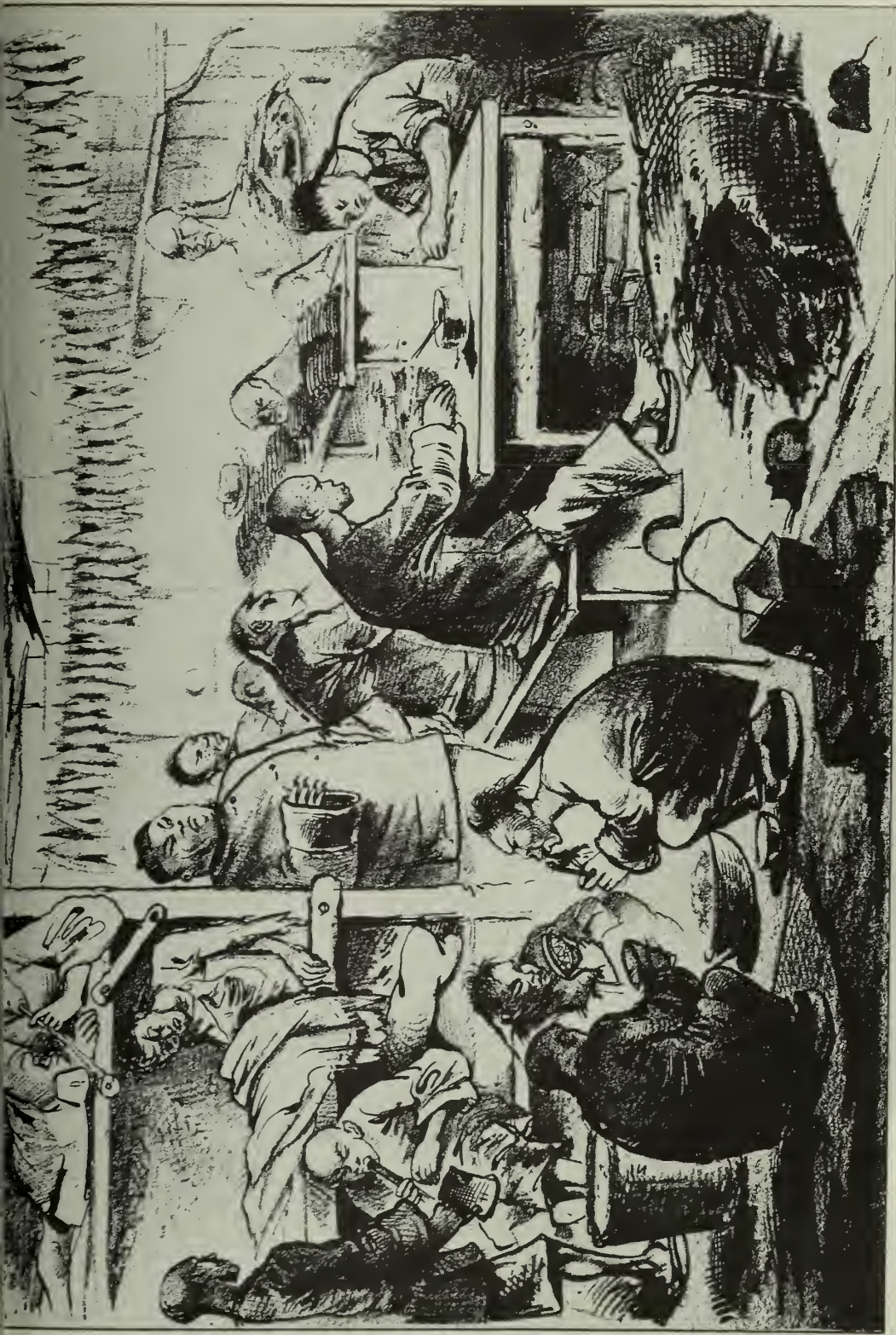


RECEPTION OF EUROPEAN EMIGRANTS TWENTY YEARS AGO.



UNCLE SAM'S FARM IN DANGER.

SEVENTY MILLIONS OF PEOPLE ARE STARVING IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCES OF CHINA. ALL WHO CAN DO SO ARE MAKING PREPARATIONS TO COME TO THE UNITED STATES. LOOK OUT FOR THE GRASSHOPPERS, UNCLE SAM.



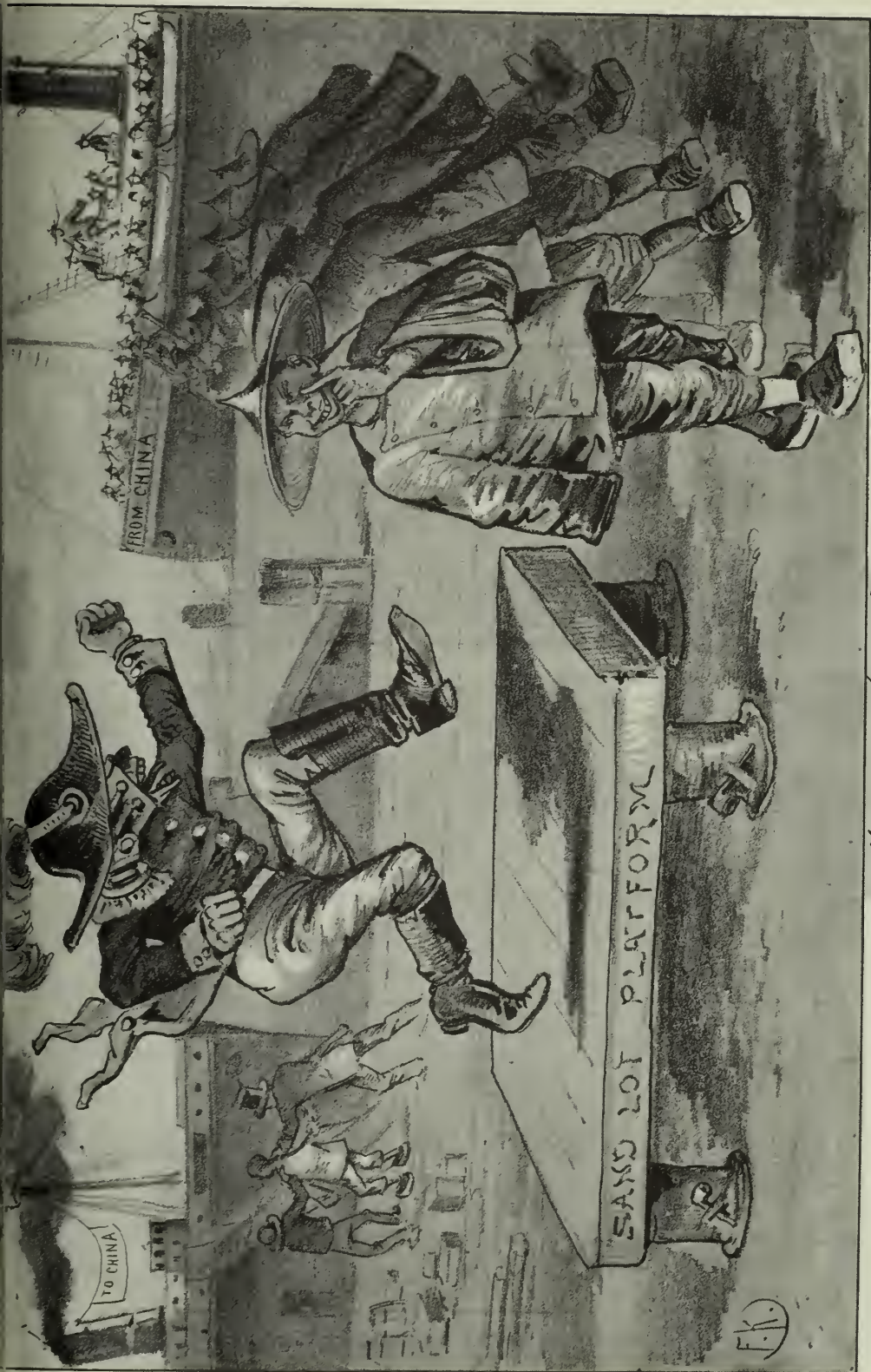
CIGAR MAKING IN CHINATOWN, SAN FRANCISCO.

HOUSE OF CORRECTION.

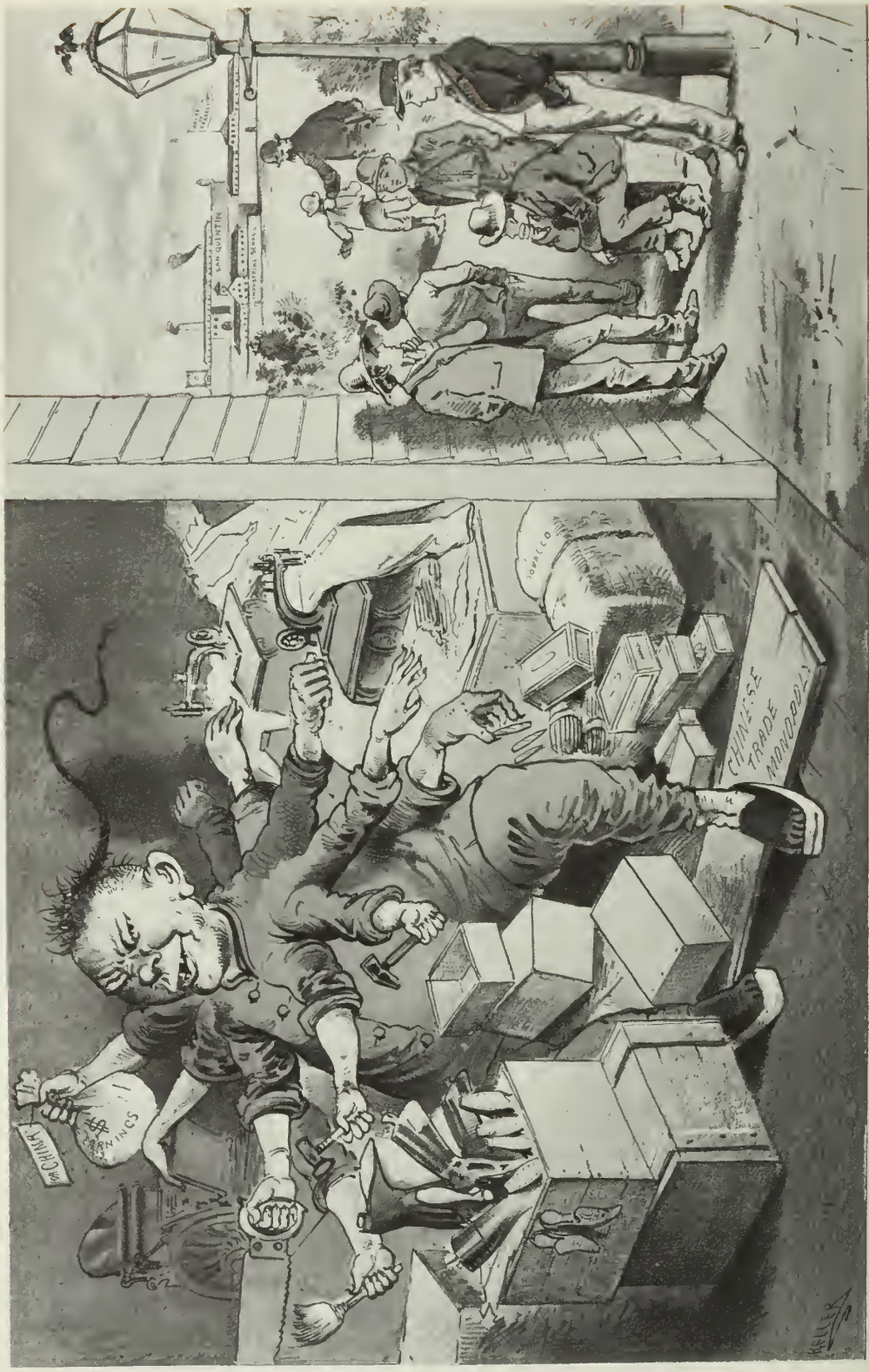
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THE TARIFFS TURNED



"Chincemusgo"



"WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH OUR BOYS?"

David Brudnoy

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Race and the San Francisco School Board Incident: Contemporary Evaluations

In July of 1971, Federal Judge Stanley Weigel ordered the San Francisco School Board to effect a massive school integration plan. In making his decision, Judge Weigel was dealing with a phenomenon which has a long history in San Francisco and California as a whole. In 1870 the state legislature provided for the establishment of separate schools for non-white children, a provision not formally removed from the books until 1946. In 1905 the San Francisco School Board took advantage of this law to order Asian children to attend a separate, all-Asian school. David Brudnoy discusses the implications of the School Board's order and the national and international reactions it provoked.

CONCERN AS TO THE CONSEQUENCES which could result from the San Francisco school board's decision to establish separate schools for Oriental pupils in 1905 was expressed by many people on both sides of the Pacific, as well as by observers in Europe. A representative of the Japanese-American press appraised the situation in its early stages as "no longer confined to a handful of school children; it has assumed international proportions."¹ A Southern congressman phrased his foreboding in black-white terms:

If the President should fail to have his way . . . and California officials should stand firm in defense of the unquestioned right of that State, the danger of a permanent estrangement between our country and Japan will have been increased, first, by reason of the blunder of the President in boosting the Japanese into the belief that they were being unfairly treated and, secondly, by reason of the failure of the President in this pending conference itself.

Whereas if, upon the other hand, the President should succeed in including the officials of California to recede from their position we will become the laughing stock in the face of the whole civilized world. Such a position will come home to grieve us, not only in Cuba, but in every State North and South . . . Indeed, the negro [sic] children and the Chinese children here at home in every State will vehemently demand the same right to send their children to the same schools that the white children attend, and we will have no good reason left for refusing these demands.²

The cauldron of diplomatic tension which was set boiling by the school board affair continued to simmer even after the incident itself was ostensibly cooled. Writing to Secretary of State Elihu Root in July of 1907, Theodore Roosevelt declared: "I am more concerned over the Japanese situation than almost any other. Thank Heaven we have the navy in good shape."³ Relations between Japan and America, which had begun with such high hopes in the mid-nineteenth century, took a dismal turn. The Treaty of 1854, arranged by Commodore Perry and the Tairo Ii Naosuke, read in part:

There shall be a perfect, permanent, and universal peace and a sincere and cordial amity between the United States of America . . . and the Empire of Japan, . . . and between their people respectively, without exception of persons and places.

And the revised treaty of 22 November 1894—in force in 1906—specified:

Article I: . . . The citizens or subjects of each High Contracting Power shall . . . in all . . . matters connected with the administration of justice . . . enjoy all the rights and privileges enjoyed by native citizens or subjects. . . .⁴

But a clause in a California state law read:

. . . trustees shall have power to exclude children of filthy and vicious habits, or children suffering from contagious or infectious diseases, and also to establish separate schools for Indian children and for children of Mongolian or Chinese descent. When such separate schools are established, [such] children must not be admitted into any other school.⁵

Availing themselves of the opportunity thus presented, the San Francisco school board in May, 1905, issued a resolution declaring its intention to establish separate schools for Chinese and Japanese pupils, "not only for the purpose of relieving the congestion at present prevailing in our schools, but also for the higher end that our children should not be placed in any position where their youthful impressions may be affected by association with pupils of the Mongolian race."⁶ Though the school board was urged to carry out its segregation policy by the newly-formed Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, for some reason it did not do so at that time. The active campaign against the Japanese which began in a series of articles in the *San Francisco Chronicle* in February, 1905, came to fruition in violence at the time of the earthquake of April 18, 1906, and in the next year.⁷ Though sporadic, attacks on Japanese grew more frequent and damage was extensive. But the Japanese, realizing the circumstances under which the city was struggling, remained patient. Businesses were wrecked, and persons, including a prominent seismography expert from Tokyo, Dr. T. Omori, were stoned by ruffians.⁸

On October 11, 1906, the San Francisco school board passed a second resolution and moved immediately to implement it:

Resolved, that in accordance with Article X, section 1662, of the school law of California, principals are hereby directed to send all Chinese, Japanese or Korean children to the Oriental public school [located near the earthquake-devastated Chinatown] on and after Monday, October 15, 1906.⁹

The Japanese press was greatly disturbed by this. One of the most jingoistic of the Tokyo dailies, *Mainichi*, stated on October 21 in an agitated tone that Japan should send her navy to chastise the Americans. Theodore Roosevelt went into a rage, moved to sue the Board of Education, threatened to send in troops and directed Secretary Root to cable the American ambassador in Tokyo to give assurances to Japan. The President told Congress on December 3: "... [the anti Japanese hostility] is most discreditable to us as a people and may be fraught with the gravest consequences to the nation. ... To shut them out from the public schools is a wicked absurdity." And he recommended passage of an act providing for naturalization of the Japanese. As is well known, however, Roosevelt favored exclusion as sound and proper policy, decrying only the manner in which some were seeking to bring this about.¹⁰

The President was vigorously opposed for his position, the *San Francisco Courant* remarking that "no such rebuke has been leveled at an American city by an American President since Andrew Jackson's time, if then."¹¹ On December 18, Roosevelt submitted to Congress the November report of his Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Victor Metcalf, and this, too, was vigorously opposed by those who defended the school board's action. Roosevelt then "invited" the school board and Mayor Schmitz to Washington for consultations, and they did come, on February 8, 1907. On the fifteenth of February a compromise was reached whereby "the Californians got what they most wanted, assurances that the influx of coolies would be stopped; the federal administration got what it most wanted—a promised repeal of the school order. The San Francisco delegation, fully aware that a surrender on the school issue would cause a storm of protest in their city, were reluctantly brought around to Roosevelt's point of view. ..."¹² The school order was rescinded on March 13, except insofar as it applied to Chinese and Korean children; the "Gentlemen's Agreement," further limiting Japanese immigration, was concluded, and the affair was officially closed.

However, soon after the delegation returned to San Francisco, mobs renewed their attacks on the Japanese.

Within two weeks after the riots, the opposition leaders in Japan were speaking openly of war, and the press of the United States and of Europe was reporting that the affair had become so serious that France had extended her good offices to pro-

note an understanding. This last rumor appears to have been without foundation, for the diplomatic situation was in no way disquieting, but it contributed to the growing feeling that affairs were nearing a crisis.¹³

The next two years witnessed the world cruise of the American fleet, Roosevelt's advocacy of building up the navy, and diplomatic measures designated to ward off any possible American-Japanese conflict.¹⁴ The aura of suspicion, hate and fear symbolized by the school board incident was to last, first in diminished and then in gradually heightened form, to World War II.

This study of an important incident in the worsening of Japanese-American relations is concerned with attitudes. It is not intended here to discuss in detail the chronological unfolding of events; the brief historical resumé above must suffice for that. Professor Thomas Bailey has asserted that the story is one of race prejudice and should be seen primarily in that light; the validity of his contention is tested here by reference to the relevant opinions of various individuals, publications, and organizations. I have concentrated primarily on one motivating impetus to the affair because of my belief that on the American side the injustices committed were largely the result of a particular racist viewpoint; as the gyrating melody of diplomacy was played in the upper registers, the *basso ostinato* of racialism droned on in the lower.

In considering the affair, the early warnings of the President of the United States and the later evaluation of the situation by the President of Stanford University were kept in mind as poles between which to view the multitude of opinions. Writing to Senator Lodge on May 15 and June 5, 1905, Roosevelt said:

I am utterly disgusted. . . . The feeling of the Pacific Coast people . . . is as foolish as if conceived by the mind of a Hottentot. [With] careless insolence [they wish] grossly to insult the Japanese . . . and at the same time . . . be given advantages in Oriental markets. . . . With besotted folly [the West Coast people] are indifferent to building up the navy while provoking this formidable new power—a power jealous, sensitive and warlike and which, if irritated could at once take both the Philippines and Hawaii from us if she obtained the upper hand on the seas.¹⁵

Seven years later, Stanford University President Jordan observed the school affair in this light:

The extravagance of the press in both nations stirred up all the latent partisanship in both races involved. On the one hand the injuries to the Japanese children were grossly exaggerated. On the other hand, gratuitous slanders were invented to justify the actions of the school board.¹⁶

The bold assertion of the editor of the *Coast Seamen's Journal* must be taken seriously: "the opposition to Oriental immigration is justified upon

the single ground of race. . . . The race differences between these people is radical and irreversible. . . ."¹⁷ What a majority of Americans may have felt remains subordinate in importance to the expressions of opinion by those who spoke and wrote. The "case" here presented, therefore, is an indictment of America's part in the incipient stages of the tragedy of American-Japanese hostility by those who commented on it at the time. The heavy blame which is justly levied upon the Japan of the 1930's and early 1940's for her role in the destruction of world peace is not absolved by reference to this earlier American injustice to Japanese people. Without an understanding of it and of the succession of slights which followed, however, the picture of the '30's and '40's becomes lopsided, and conclusions are bound to be distorted.¹⁸

Agitation against the Japanese proved to be a popular pastime of politicians and propagandists in California beginning about 1900. Denis Kearney had hardly put down his "The Chinese Must Go" placards when he picked up one labeled "The Japanese are the Yellow Peril," dropped, perhaps, by a disciple of the notorious Dr. O'Donnell, an abortionist who had uttered the cry "Japs Must Go" for the first (recorded) time in San Francisco in 1887. Kearney had a taste for the Apocalyptic: "I tell you solemnly that if the fathers and mothers of this country don't see it now, they will see it later on to their sorrow when it will grow to such size that it will take bloodshed to settle it."¹⁹

It seemed to many as if anti-Japanese agitation in labor-dominated San Francisco was due in large measure to the machinations of local labor-political organs.²⁰ Candidates of all major parties stood on platforms constructed of old anti-Chinese planks up-dated to draw attention to the new Japanese "menace." Mass meetings were held to protest the presence of the Japanese on all grounds imaginable. Yet, despite the capital to be gained from pandering to the anti-Japanese bias of many constituents, political profit cannot have been the chief motive occasioning the school board incident, as it was hardly exploited by politicians until criticism was drawn from "hostile" sources such as Japan, Roosevelt, the "East," and Europe.²¹

When the assertion was made that Japanese were entitled to attend the same schools as whites because of the 1894 treaty, the discussion of that treaty and of its subordination to, or supremacy over, local laws became a prominent issue. The matter of the legality or illegality of the school board action in light of the treaty was the vehicle whereby certain defenders of the American Way of Life declared their intention of showing the federal government the proper order of things.

The Administration's view was expressed by Elihu Root in an article in the inaugural volume of a new scholarly journal. The San Francisco board did provide schooling for Oriental children, Root asserted, but not

the same schooling as for whites and other resident aliens. The 1894 treaty did not guarantee schools to the Japanese in California, he felt, but only "equality of treatment with the citizens of other foreign nations. . . ." ²² Accordingly, Root reasoned, if California provided schools for alien children, it must include Japanese children too. Seeing the treaty-making power of the United States as superior to the laws of the several states, and hence viewing the San Francisco issue as one *not* involving the states rights theory, Root wrote that "it follows of necessity that the treaty-making power alone was authority to determine what those rights, privileges, and immunities shall be." ²³ In the preceding issue of the same journal, the editors asserted that the Japanese of San Francisco had been denied proper rights and privileges under the most-favored nation concept. ²⁴ The term employed, in the pages of the *American Journal of International Law* and elsewhere, was "equivalent if not identical" school facilities.

Both scholarly and popular opinion relied strongly on this doctrine, derived, of course, from the "separate but equal" ruling of the Supreme Court in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which enshrined as the law of the land a much earlier judgment by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, Lemuel Shaw, allowing separate schools for children of different color. ²⁵ Professor Amos S. Hershey not only minimized the incident, calling it a "trivial matter . . . the segregation of less than one hundred Japanese pupils in the oriental school of San Francisco," but also dismissed the notion that the Japanese were entitled to school privileges by the treaty: "Even if this were the case, it by no means follows that such a provision would be constitutional or that, if constitutional, Japanese children could not be segregated in separate schools." ²⁶ Hershey differentiated the "broad constructionist" argument (that the treaty power of the federal government is *unlimited*) from the "strict constructionist" argument (that such power is *limited*), bemoaned that the broad constructionists seemed to have won in this case, and asserted his own view that the "federal government [does not have] the right, by treaty or otherwise, to encroach upon the police power or reserved rights of the States to the extent of directing or controlling their public school system." ²⁷

Hershey's view was popular with those asserting the rightness of San Francisco's course. President Altmann of the school board, for instance, flatly declared that "if there is a violation of the treaty rights between the two governments the fault is not ours; it is with the legislature that passed the law." ²⁸ And such was the respondent's argument in the case of *Keikichi Aoki v. M. A. Deane*, which came before the Supreme Court of California in March, 1907. Deane was principal of the Redding primary school, from which ten year old, Japanese-born, Keikichi Aoki was barred in accordance with the city regulation, and to which the boy, through his father, Michit-sugu Aoki, sought admittance by legal action. Aoki saw the word "reside"

in the 1894 treaty as including attendance in schools. The respondent, represented by William G. Burke, City Attorney, denied this construction and, furthermore, hinted that the treaty might be "unconstitutional and nugatory" because it was in excess of the authority given to the President and was a trespass on the reserve powers of the States guaranteed by Amendment X of the United States Constitution.

Never before has any attempt been made to enforce a right of this character through treaty manipulations on behalf of foreign subjects. Efforts have been repeatedly made on the part of citizens of the United States to defeat legislation by the States establishing separate schools for persons of the colored race. Several of the States of the Union have enacted statutes and they are still now in full force and effect, establishing separate schools for negro children, and the [right to so establish such schools as has been challenged on the] ground that such legislation was in conflict with the fourteenth amendment, . . . guaranteeing to its citizens equal privileges, rights and immunities, and the equal protection of the laws.²⁹

The halls of Congress reverberated with stirring defenses of California's bold posture. *California is a sovereign state:*

The State of California has the right to determine for itself the rules and regulations for the conduct of its schools as it has to determine any other question in the multitude of reserved rights of the States. No Court has ever decided that the General Government, either by an act of Congress or by the exercise of the treaty-making power, can invade the common school system of the States, the impulsive declaration of the President about sending the army and Navy to protect the Japanese to the contrary notwithstanding.³⁰

The treaty be damned:

So I contend . . . first, that there is no conflict between the treaty and the California school law; second, that if there is a conflict, the treaty must give way, for the California school law is an exercise of the police power, and therefore superior, subject to repeal by no authority on earth save by her State legislature.³¹

They all look alike:

. . . I am for the State of California as against any race or nation, because it is an American State and part of the United States. I am with the people of California, because this Japanese question is the Chinese question with another name.³²

Representative Michalek concluded his remarks by asserting that the exclusion of Japanese labor is as important as adherence to the Monroe Doctrine.

The bulk of *scholarly* opinion, however, disagreed with Hershey and the popularizers of his view. Professors Charles Hyde, William D. Lewis, Simeon E. Baldwin, and Mr. Arthur K. Kuhn, for example, writing in respected law journals, asserted the supremacy of the treaty-making powers

of the United States—the broad constructionist argument. Nevertheless, the editors of *The American Journal of International Law*, in the issue containing Secretary Root's piece, evaluated a contradictory theory as follows:

In a very careful and sane article by Theodore P. Ion, in the *Michigan Law Review* for March, 1907, it is contended on authority and reason that the treaty does not confer the right of education in the public schools; that the state of California performs its international duty, supposing the Japanese have the right claimed, by furnishing equal, not identical, facilities; that foreigners cannot well claim to enjoy in this country greater rights and privileges than native-born citizens of the United States enjoy, referring especially to the situation of the negro.³³

At the base of the ruling against the Japanese children there was a feeling that Japanese could not be assimilated. Olaf Tveitmoe, a Swedish immigrant who was president of the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, who had a criminal record, and who was the alter-ego of P. H. McCarthy, head of San Francisco trades-unionism, spoke of Japan as an industrial and military menace. The Japanese people themselves

do not, will not, and can not amalgamate with our people . . . they remain at heart Mongols still. The Jap never assimilates? Why should he? He belongs to a race and a civilization centuries ahead of our own. He is perfectly willing to learn anything of use from anybody who can teach him. But everything he learns and . . . acquires is for Japan. He has no attachment and no affection save for his own people and for his own land. . . . In sex relations, Japanese ideas and ideals are so far apart from our own that it is unjust to judge them by our standards. As to chastity, the Jap is simply unmoral.³⁴

Most of the observers whose opinions were reported asserted (albeit in prose less purple than Tveitmoe's) that the Japanese is one type, the white another. Particularly was this so, they felt, with adults of the two races.³⁵ The *Chronicle* explained "Why Japanese are Objectionable in Schools" thus: "Whatever the status of the Japanese children while still young and uncontaminated, as they grow older they acquire the distinctive character, habits and moral standards of their race, which are abhorrent to our people. We object to them in the familiar intercourse of common school life as we would object to any other moral poison."³⁶

It was maintained that there were countless Japanese, many of them adults, in the primary and secondary schools of San Francisco: "It is difficult to tell the age of a Japanese boy or man, and we have learned from experience that we could not take their word for it. The parents of white children—especially of girls in the adolescent period—began to feel that these men should be excluded from the public schools altogether. . . ."³⁷ Even when it was not asserted that the children were adults, it was obvious that they were unacceptable: "The people of California will never permit

children of Asiatic descent to sit at the same desk and occupy the same room with white children. The Government of the United States is powerful, but not powerful enough for that."³⁸

This, then, was the menace, the scholar battalion of the Yellow Peril army. In fact, in the San Francisco school system, there were 93 Japanese people, one-third of them American-born (thus citizens). Sixty-five were boys, thirty-four *under* age fifteen, thirty-one *over* fifteen, of which two were over twenty and of which the average age of the remainder was seventeen and one-half years old.³⁹ (The census of 1910 listed 41,346 Japanese in California, of which 4,518 lived in San Francisco, less than two percent of the total population of that city.) Hugh Borton asserts that "since there were only 93 persons affected by this order, it had obviously been motivated by racial prejudice against the Japanese."⁴⁰ The late A. Whitney Griswold maintained further that "the school board seems to have acted more in response to a desire to humble the Japanese than on the merits of the case presented,"⁴¹ and there were numerous assertions by teachers and principals that the Japanese were model pupils, personally clean and moral. Yet as "tens of thousands of parents in San Francisco and perhaps hundreds of thousands on the Pacific Coast, were deceived and excited by this unfair presentation of the case, the Board of Education and the San Francisco newspapers are largely responsible for the state of feeling thus brought about."⁴²

Some soothingly reassured the nation that the incident would be amicably settled and everything would be all right. Certain observers later felt the problem to have been a matter of economic competition rather than of racial antipathy. Attacks on Japanese restaurants and other *non-union* establishments added support to former mayor James Phelan's observation, that "the racial question has been unfairly injected into the situation. There is practically no racial prejudice, but the working men have been urged not to patronize the Japanese restaurants, for instance, because they are conducted by non-union help. . . ."⁴³

The old anti-Chinese arguments about the unreliability and mercilessness of Chinese employees were trotted out, with the added filip that the Japanese were worse even than the Chinese. California's Hayes, the Congressional champion of Japanese exclusion, spoke in Washington of the cheap labor swamping the American labor market, and of a people so heinous as to be undesirable under any circumstances:

. . . unblushing lying is so universal among the Japanese as to be one of the leading national traits; . . . the Japanese people do not understand the meaning of the word "morality," . . . there is no such word in Japanese corresponding to "sin," because there is in the ordinary Japanese mind no conception of its meaning. There is no word corresponding to the word "home," because there is nothing in the Japanese domestic life corresponding to the home as we know it.⁴⁴

The Nation's evaluation of Hayes is noteworthy: "He indulged in this kind of claptrap in spite of the fact that the whole Pacific Coast is suffering from lack of labor. The development of all its industries is retarded for want of hands. An immediate influx of from fifty to one hundred thousand Chinese and Japanese would be a great blessing."⁴⁵

I think it fair to suggest, with Professor Bailey and the correspondent for an *Outlook* article, "The Attacks on the Japanese," that the problems of economic competition and racial prejudice were inter-related, if not actually two sides of the same inflated coin.

... the attacks upon peaceable and law-abiding Japanese, the exclusion of Japanese pupils from the public schools attended by whites, the boycott of the Japanese restaurants last fall and the stoning of some of them this spring, are all due, directly or indirectly to a feeling of racial antipathy aroused by the trades unions for selfish economic reasons, and greatly intensified by the activity of the Japanese Exclusion League and the one-sided treatment of the question at issue by the San Francisco press.⁴⁶

In 1905, the organization known as the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League (later The Asiatic Exclusion League) lumbered into existence, with the above-mentioned O. E. Tveitmoe as founder and first president. Though, as has been noted, anti-Japanese sentiment preceded the founding of the organization, there can be little doubt that the League, aided by the politicians Abe Ruef and Mayor Schmitz, was in large part responsible for creating the school question, for aggravating the boycotts and perhaps for encouraging the attacks on Japanese.⁴⁷ The League was particularly hostile to the school board when it returned from the "sell-out" in Washington. In the midst of the imbroglio, the *World's Work* appraised the League thus: "Such a league, if it confine its activity to legitimate matters, may go far toward the simplification of this most difficult and involved question. If it plunge ahead blindly, following the dictates of race prejudice, passion, or mere jealousy, it will become a menace not only to California but to the United States itself."⁴⁸

An examination of their activities evinces doubt that the League members, with their single-minded determination to rid California of its Orientals as well as of its Oriental "problem," could have served to do anything but stir up trouble. The League's pronouncements represent the whole spectrum of invective leveled against the Japanese, whether of an explicitly racial type or not. The school question, for the League and its allies, served as an initiating vehicle for launching the exclusion movement, and as such it was deliberately provocative. "The school question is a mere incident in our campaign for Japanese exclusion."⁴⁹

"We ask that the Chinese Exclusion Act shall be extended to embrace Japanese and all other Asiatic laborers," said Representative Hayes in Congress.⁵⁰ "Californians want to be rid of the Japanese. . . . Whether the put-

ting out of the way involves the US in a war with Japan or whether the thing can be done smoothly and peacefully is a matter of supreme indifference to the people of the Golden State."⁵¹ Montaville Flowers excoriated the United States for allowing Japan to see how she could get what she wanted by appeal to international sentiments, and he blamed the Japanese for provoking the affair themselves.⁵² The Japanese were accused of imperiousness, impudence, of taking honors in school away from white children, of moral laxity (concubinage, picture brides, prostitution), and of a rich catalogue of sins. Representative Webb, ever alert to the dangers of miscegenation, disturbance of the national order, and so forth, was especially agile:

The free-school privilege of California is a gift to the Japanese which they are not compelled by any law, regulation or ordinance to accept. The only condition which the State attaches to the gift is that, if they do accept it, they must do so in certain school buildings, which are as comfortable as those in which the whites attend school. . . . It is the height of Oriental conceit to demand more. It is the climax of Japanese swell-headedness to persist in their demands. [applause] This insistence in demanding that they be allowed to attend white schools proves their unfitness to enjoy such a privilege. [applause] The sons of Nippon should be made to understand that notwithstanding their recent victory over decrepit Russia, they cannot compel the Young Giant of the West to abrogate her laws or destroy her customs simply to meet the Japanese caprice or tickle Japanese fancy. [applause]⁵³

Outbursts of this sort and attacks against Japanese were seen by Roosevelt as cracks in the diplomatic wall "which would plunge us into war."⁵⁴ That was was the most serious conceivable consequence of the affair is obvious. Yet, we must recognize that in the many issues involved, the many attitudes of hostility and defensiveness expressed, the essential feature, that which stands preeminent, was racism. Professor Bailey has savored the multitude of ingredients in this particular stew:

The labor union group in California felt that they had been sold out; the exclusionists considered the agreement but a halfway measure; the anti-exclusionists regarded the settlement as a step in the wrong direction, the states rights advocates, on the Coast, as well as farther east, deplored the unprecedented extension of the federal arm; the Southern whites feared a dangerous precedent that might later be used against negro segregation . . . and the Japanese masses were disgruntled . . . because of veiled discrimination involved.⁵⁵

The Western states were almost uniformly hostile to the Japanese, and within this hostility there loomed large the specter of race. Justified, perhaps, in fearing a submergence of native culture by a hypothetical, over-large influx of Asians—a scant possibility—the Californians and their supporters veered into sophistry when attempting to bring about their desired goal, exclusion of Orientals through any means possible. Though a few

Western papers stood out at least partially as defenders of the Japanese, and though various chambers of commerce, churches, missionaries, and educators deplored the hostility, many Californians, desiring to preserve the white race against the relentless competition of the Asians, indulged in gutter abuse.⁵⁶ Their hope was to end immigration and thus end the problem, "for the Japanese now here would die off. . . ."⁵⁷ With every weapon in its arsenal the "yellow press" of California and its friends sought to breathe a current of fear and loathing of the Japanese into the Western atmosphere. California's friends in Congress stood ready to defend her: "Those people in California are right in requiring the Japanese and the Chinese and the negro and other alien races to attend separate schools. That separation of the races is best for every race and for everybody."⁵⁸ Some shouted for war. Representative Hayes was ready to go: "If we are to have war with Japan, let's have it right away. We are ready and they are not."⁵⁹

The Eastern papers stood aloof and frowned, though often with visions of lost commerce dancing in their heads:

. . . the people of the United States have occasion to be ashamed of themselves. . . . If the people of the coast are in truth engaging in any form of anti-Japanese crusade or are showing a prejudice against the Japanese, they are open to the emphatic condemnation of the whole people of this country. Our interests in the Far East, to speak commercially, are too heavy and important to be placed in jeopardy by a wanton insult of the dominant power.⁶⁰

Roosevelt, the patrician Easterner, exemplifying a peculiar, though fashionable, blend of polite Social Darwinian prejudice and egalitarian republicanism, expressed displeasure both with Japan, for being too excitable, and with California—particularly with the latter. After the tensions had eased, Roosevelt, though seeing the Japanese-American crisis as the most significant in his administration, wrote calmly of the problem to Representative William Kent of California: "Our line of policy must be adopted holding ever in view the fact that this is a race question, and that race questions stand by themselves. . . ."⁶¹ Roosevelt wanted exclusion of laborers by mutual agreement, and complete freedom of movement for the upper elements of both the white and Japanese peoples.

The East was almost unanimous in condemning the Californians for their methods, while approving in general their desire to prevent "coolie" immigration. The European press was also of this mind. As the reaction of all the foreign press but the Japanese is beyond the scope of this study, suffice it to say that much European comment was alarmist in its prediction of war as a result of the school controversy, while only those areas among the world's nations which shared California's problems (such as Australia and Western Canada) sided with the American Giant of the West in her approach to the problem.

Japanese observers, of course, were deeply disturbed. Press comments in the first month of the controversy, October, 1906, ran the gamut of opinion:

... the incident of the expulsion of all Japanese children from California schools has made the already full cup flow over. . . . The *Jiji Shimpō* is astounded at this action on the part of the San Francisco authorities. It has not believed such a thing possible in America, the country which, above all others, prides itself on being guided by principles of freedom and benevolence. There have been of late many evidences of the growth of anti-Japanese feeling in the United States, but the *Jiji* has been restrained from commenting on them, remembering, as it always does, what Japan owes to America and with what feelings she has always regarded her great trans-Pacific neighbor. . . . The *Kokumin Shimbun*, however, is disposed to make light of this affair . . . reminding them [the Japanese] that the centre of discussion is a vicious circle of western politicians who are governed almost entirely by the labouring class. . . . The *Asahi Shimbun* is disposed to minimize the school incident. It thinks that the objectionable step taken by the education authorities will be revoked. . . . the American population includes a very unruly element which . . . lynches prisoners, burns negroes alive and commits other shocking outrages. It is not impossible that these lawless persons should turn their hand against the Japanese inhabitants of San Francisco.⁶²

Japan was pleased that Roosevelt seemed about to champion her. The President's friend, Baron Kaneko, called Roosevelt's December 3, 1906, speech to Congress, "the greatest utterance by an American president since Washington's farewell address." To the Japanese, Secretary Metcalf's mission to San Francisco was "convincing proof of the disinterestedness and sincerity of the Roosevelt administration."⁶³ Though the Japanese community in San Francisco expressed its indignation at the strong diet of abuses it had been fed, Japan itself was at first willing to trust to the federal government to work out a settlement. "When such amicable settlement is unattainable, then, and then only, should we talk of retaliation."⁶⁴ However, Japan plainly saw the racial impetus and loudly resented it: "The people of Japan, living under their gentle government, can not allow the people of San Francisco to discriminate against innocent school children on the pretext of racial differences. It is the foundation of our civilization and of our actual ability to enjoy the blest liberty of equal rights."⁶⁵

In November, 1906, the Japanese press quieted temporarily, desiring not to magnify the incident or allow it to disturb friendly United States-Japanese relations. But as the racial aspect grew, the press again became disturbed. The *Kokumin Shimbun* urged Japanese to forget about San Francisco and head out to South America where chances for happiness were better. In mid-November, hopes for early settlement dimmed and the Japanese set in for a long wait.

Dean Mitsukuri of Tokyo Imperial University's College of Sciences, wrote President Jordan of Stanford in December:

The remedy against immigration of lower-class Japanese is to be sought in coming to a diplomatic understanding in the matter. The Japanese government would be open to reason. But to pass a law condemning the Japanese wholesale, for no other reason than that they are Japanese, would be striking Japan in her most sensitive point. An open declaration of war would not be resented so much. The reason is not far to seek. Japan has had a long struggle in recovering her rights as an independent state and in obtaining a standing in the civilized world. If now her old friend . . . should turn her back on her and she would no longer associate with her on even terms, the resentment must necessarily be very bitter.⁶⁶

Japanese reaction grew even more bitter in 1907 as the order of the Board of Education gnawed at Japanese who came to regard the incident not so much an invasion of treaty rights, but as a breach of international comity. Politicians of the opposition Progressive Party, led by Count Okuma, took the lead in attacking United States' racial hostility, and, by inference, the impotence of the party in power in Japan. Japan's government responded by taking advantage of the incident "to create a diversion at Washington and to create popular sentiment in Japan in favor of increased military and naval appropriations."⁶⁷ (as did Roosevelt here). But it is palpably unfair to imply, as did the *Seattle Call*, that Japan had fomented the situation on the West Coast, using it to its own advantage to offset claims that American trade was being unfairly treated in Manchuria.⁶⁸

As the historical narrative has been briefly described above, it suffices to add that the crisis passed without leading either to war between the two nations or to armed clashes between the whites and Japanese in San Francisco, other than incidental, isolated brawls. We know now that Japan was in nowise confident of victory in a war with the United States, that she could not support it economically (having just exhausted her finances in the war with Russia), and did not want it then.

It is to be wondered if it often, or ever, occurred to the Japanese that what they protested so dramatically and with such justice when applied to themselves, was accepted by them with such equanimity when applied to the Chinese and Koreans in America. This lack of sympathy by the Japanese for other East Asians likewise discriminated against is but a single example of one minority group's willingness to regard with indifference the discrimination against other minority groups by the dominant group. Here, however, the greater wrong and the greater tragedy was that breach of faith demonstrated by so many Americans. (A lesser wrong, but one worth pondering, is that the defenders of the Japanese in America were, like Roosevelt, so often motivated in their concern by awareness of Japan's *might*, and that in the school compromise itself, the *Japanese* were thereafter allowed to attend the "white" schools, but the Koreans and Chinese

were not.) Though the possibility of hostile economic competition or the troubles which might have come out of unrestricted Japanese immigration were causes for reasoned concern, the "Yellow Peril" was a fiction. Though the Japanese "menace" in San Francisco was a figment of the yellow journalist's pen, the potential menace to international comity, and to international peace, as a result of the fears thus excited, was real. That such American nativism as was manifested in the San Francisco school affair had not resulted in even more intense international and internal difficulty, is a noteworthy, though separate, subject.

NOTES

1. *The Japanese American* (San Francisco), October 25, 1906, quoted in Montaville Flowers, *The Japanese Conquest of American Opinion* (New York, 1917), 13.
2. Hon. George G. Gilbert of Kentucky, speech in the House of Representatives, "The Japanese School Question," February 12, 1907. An interesting variant of this sentiment was quoted in "The Japanese Protest," *Nation*, LXXXIII (November 3, 1906), 364: "For a nation of Yellow people to arrogate unto itself the methods of civilized Powers in protecting its citizens against wrongs suffered abroad is the purest insolence." *The Nation* was quoting agitators; its editorial stand decried such remarks.
3. Letter, Roosevelt to Root, July 13, 1907, in H. F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography* (New York, 1931), 407.
4. The treaty of 1854 is discussed in Sidney Gulick, *The American Japanese Problem* (New York, 1914), 32. The treaty of 1894 is analyzed in part in *The Japanese School Segregation Case, No. 4754, in the Supreme Court of the State of California, Keikichi Aoki v. M. A. Deane* (March, 1907).
5. Quoted and discussed in William Thompson, "San Francisco and the Japanese," *World Today*, XI (December, 1906), 1310.
6. John P. Young, "The Support of the Anti-Oriental Movement," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, XXXIV (September, 1909), 236. At that time, there was *no congestion* in the schools. See Eleanor Tupper and George E. McReynolds, *Japan in American Public Opinion* (New York, 1937), 19-42, *passim*. Possibly because of the lack of urgency, or "congestion," at the time, the resolution attracted little attention, and Japanese protest of it then, if there was any, was not recorded.
7. It is ironic that the outbreak of anti-Japanese violence occurred at just the time when Japan most showed concern for San Francisco's problems. The Japanese Red Cross, for instance, had given \$244,960 for relief of the earthquake victims, a figure in excess of the aid given by other nations. However, following the earthquake, a shortage of school buildings, hence *congestion*, finally developed.
8. See Yamato Ichihashi, "Emigration from Japan and Japanese Immigration into the State of California" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1914), 281.
9. Quoted in the Metcalf Report, "Final Report on the Situation Affecting the Japanese in the City of San Francisco, California," message from the President of the United States to Congress (December 18, 1907), 3.
10. Roosevelt's speech is in J. D. Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, 1911). In his *Autobiography* (New York, 1913), 411, Roosevelt wrote of the long-time strong feeling in California against immigration

of Asiatic laborers: "I believe this to be fundamentally a sound and proper attitude, an attitude which must be insisted upon, and yet which can be insisted upon in such a manner and with such courtesy and such sense of mutual fairness and reciprocal obligation and respect as not to give any just cause of offense to Asiatic peoples."

11. Quoted in *Current Literature*, XCII (January, 1907), 7.

12. Thomas Bailey, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese American Crises* (Stanford, 1934), 143.

13. Bailey, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 201.

14. Thomas Bailey, "The World Cruise of the American Battleship Fleet 1907-1909," *Pacific Historical Review*, I, 4 (December, 1932), wrote that the cruise had been in the planning for two years, although Roosevelt's *Autobiography* mentions that it was decided suddenly. According to Bailey, Roosevelt had postponed the trip during the San Francisco imbroglio to avoid further misunderstanding. See p. 390, quoting the Boston *Evening Transcript*, July 1, 1907.

15. From Lodge Mss., quoted in Howard Beale, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of America to World Power* (Baltimore, 1957), 327.

16. David Starr Jordan, "Relations of Japan to the United States," in George Blakeslee, ed., *Japan and Japanese-American Relations* (New York, 1922), 7.

17. Walter MacCarthy, "Opposition to Oriental Immigration," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, XXXIV, 2 (September, 1909), 307.

18. Three recent, important studies are Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Gloucester, Mass., 1966); Raymond Esthus, *Theodore Roosevelt and Japan* (Seattle and London, 1966); and Charles Neu, *An Uncertain Friendship: Theodore Roosevelt and Japan, 1906-1909* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967). Still of considerable importance is Bailey's *Theodore Roosevelt*, which also serves as a handy source of some less accessible primary sources.

19. Denis Kearney, quoted by William Inglis, "The Width of a School Bench," *Harper's Weekly*, LI (January 19, 1907), 83.

20. See Jokichi Takamine, "The Japanese in America," in Blakeslee, *Japanese-American Relations*, 27; and *World Today*, XI, 6 (December, 1906). The latter saw the labor unions as a prime cause of California's race problem, working hand-in-glove with the Exclusion League to incite hostility.

21. See Sidney Gulick, *American-Japanese Problem*, for examples of the vicious, often contradictory, grounds for desiring Japanese exclusion; Fred H. Matthews, "White Community and 'Yellow Peril,'" *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, L, 4 (March, 1964), for an appraisal of Gulick's efforts on behalf of the Japanese and for the activities of others on the scene; and George Mowry, *The California Progressives* (Berkeley, 1951).

22. Elihu Root, "The Real Questions under the Japanese Treaty and the San Francisco School Board Resolution," *American Journal of International Law*, I (April, 1907), 277.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 283. Root was more accurate in his analysis of constitutional and international law than in his appraisal of the extent of bitterness evoked by the issue: "... never for a moment was there as between the government of the United States and the government of Japan, the slightest departure from perfect good temper, mutual confidence, and kindly consideration." *Ibid.*, 276.

24. "The Japanese School Question," *American Journal of International Law*, I (January, 1907) 150-53.

25. *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896). The Massachusetts precedent is *Roberts v. City of Boston*, 5th Cush. 198.
26. Amos S. Hershey, "Japanese School Question and the Treaty-making Power," *American Political Science Review*, I (May, 1907), 393, 399-400.
27. *Ibid.*, 409.
28. Quoted in William H. Thompson, "San Francisco and the Japanese," *World Today* (November 3, 1906), 1310.
29. *Japanese School Segregation Case*. The respondent's brief skillfully wove in a mass of precedent cases, including *Plessy*, *Roberts*.
30. Gilbert, "Japanese School Question."
31. Rep. Edwin Y. Webb of North Carolina, speech in the House of Representatives, "The Treaty-making Power and the State and the Japanese San Francisco School Controversy," February 16, 1907.
32. Rep. Anthony Michalek of Indiana, speech in the House of Representatives, "Immigration Bill—Exclusion of Japanese Labor," December 18, 1906.
33. *American Journal of International Law* (April, 1907), 451-52.
34. Quoted in *World Today*, XI (December, 1906), 1311.
35. Matthews, "Yellow Peril," 623, discusses the "bogy of miscegenation" which was the "most powerful of the evolutionary arguments in stampeding sentiment against the Japanese."
36. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 6, 1906.
37. Flowers, *Japanese Conquest*, 11-12.
38. *San Francisco Argonaut*, November 10, 1906.
39. See Bailey, *Theodore Roosevelt*, and George Kennan, "The Japanese in the San Francisco Schools," *Outlook*, LXXXVI (June, 1907), 246-52.
40. Hugh Borton, *Japan's Modern Century* (New York, 1955), 305. See also the statement by President Jordan in Ichihashi, "Emigration."
41. A. Whitney Griswold, *The Far Eastern Policy of the United States* (New Haven, 1938, reissued 1962), 350.
42. Kennan, "Japanese," 251.
43. *Review of Reviews*, XXXVI (July, 1907), 63.
44. Speech by Hayes in the House of Representatives, March 13, 1906, quoted in Yamato Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States* (Stanford, 1932), 239.
45. "The Japanese Protest," *Nation*, LXXXIII (1906), 364.
46. *Outlook*, LXXXVI (June 29, 1907) 460-62. Bailey, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 43, writes: "The Japanese children were set apart because the whites were prejudiced against them, and the source of this prejudice, at least in San Francisco, appears to have been the belief that coolie labor was thwarting the work of the unions and lowering the American standard of living."
47. See Yamato Ichihashi, *Japanese Immigration, Its Status in California* (San Francisco, 1915), 55.
48. "The Japanese in California," *World's Work*, XIII (March, 1907), 3690.
49. *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 1907, quoted in Carey MacWilliams, *Prejudice: Japanese Americans: Symbol of Racial Intolerance* (Boston, 1944), 28.
50. Hayes, "The Treaty-making Power and the Government."
51. Inglis, "Width of a School Bench," 82.
52. Flowers, *Japanese Conquest*, 11, 12, 16-17.
53. Webb, "Treaty-making Power."
54. Quoted in *Current Literature*, XCII, 7.
55. Bailey, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 186.

56. Tupper and McReynolds, *Japan*, abstract the journal sentiments. Papers friendly to the Japanese included: *Providence Journal*, *New York Tribune*, *New York Evening Post*, *New York Globe*, *Philadelphia Press*, *Washington Evening Star*, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, *Outlook*. Western papers not strongly anti-Japanese, or friendly to them, included the *Tacoma Ledger*, *Tacoma Daily News*, *Seattle News*, *Seattle Times*, and the *Los Angeles Times*. Strongly anti-Japanese among the Eastern newspapers were the Hearst journals; and among the Western and Southern journals, those strongly anti-Japanese included the *San Francisco Chronicle*, *San Francisco Examiner*, *San Francisco Call*, *Berkeley Gazette*, *Sacramento Union*, *Charleston News and Courier*, *Louisville Courier-Journal*, and the *New Orleans Times-Democrat*.

57. Samuel McClintock, "Anti-Japanese Legislation," *World Today* XVI (1909), 272.

58. Gilbert, "Japanese School Question." Other speeches of this nature in 1907 were delivered by Senators Barron of Georgia, Tillman of South Carolina, Underwood of Alabama, Burgess of Texas, and Williams of Mississippi. It should be noted that although the Southern legislators strongly tended, with their constituents, to be opposed to an influx of Japanese laborers, they preferred not to vote for an exclusion bill. They feared that by so doing, too much power would be given to the President, thus interfering with the states rights principle. When the exclusion vote was taken, most of the opposition was from these Southern Democrats.

59. Hayes, November 1906, quoted in MacWilliams, *Prejudice*, 31.

60. From the *Washington Evening Star*, quoted by the *Literary Digest* (November 30, 1906), 632, in Jesse Steiner, *The Japanese Invasion* (Chicago, 1917), 44.

61. Quoted by Bailey, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 318. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, 36, writes of Roosevelt: "... despite his frequent protests to the contrary he was, along with the overwhelming majority of his contemporaries, a convinced racist. He was, however, willing to treat certain individuals of any race as equals."

62. *Japan Weekly Mail* (October 27, 1906), 542-43. Of the Japanese papers, the most influential were the *Ijji Shimpō*, *Kokumin Shimbun*, and *Asahi Shimbun*. The *Mainichi*, as mentioned above, was jingoistic, as was the *Soko Shimbun*.

63. Bailey, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 86.

64. From *Soko Shimbun*, October 25, 1906, quoted in Metcalf, "Report," 21. On October 25, four days after San Francisco excluded the Japanese children from the white schools, Viscount Aoki, the Japanese ambassador, called on Root demanding equality in treatment. And shortly thereafter, Mr. (later Baron) Ishii, director of the Commercial Bureau of the Japanese Foreign Office, was sent to San Francisco to study the school affair, in which city he was "most mercilessly and cruelly knocked down by some Americans," T. G. Komai, "America and Japan: The Japanese Case," *Spectator* (August 9, 1913), 441.

65. *Soko Shimbun*, October 26, 1906, in Metcalf, "Report," 20.

66. Quoted in *World Today*, XI (December, 1906), 1312-13.

67. MacWilliams, *Prejudice*, 27. Esthus, *Theodore Roosevelt*, sees the president's desire for naval expansion as perhaps having contributed to his tactics in the school crisis; however, Esthus concludes that racial prejudice was the crux of the matter. Neu, *Uncertain Friendship*, is less concerned with the navy aspect and instead writes that Roosevelt's fear for Republican party strength in the West made him sensitive to labor demands and anti-Japanese sentiments of West Coast citizens.

68. See Bailey, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 34.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066

All Enemies Look the Same

by Maisie and Richard Conrat



AIR RAIDS, espionage, and sabotage seemed entirely likely to Californians in the days and weeks after the attack on Pearl Harbor. A war hysteria which produced such popular myths as the ease in distinguishing between brave Chinese allies and bestial Japanese enemies (it had something to do with the shape of the eyes, if you remember) was itself capable of producing a profound public reaction against Japanese nationals and American citizens of Japanese ancestry.

But added to the kind of patriotic bushwa that afflicted German-Americans during the First World War was a history of extreme prejudice against Asians. The Oriental had long been an enemy in the eyes of many Californians. The proof



of inherent Japanese depravity was now at hand. And in those days when the news from the Far East was all news of Anglo-American defeats, there was at least one army of the enemy that could be overcome, a supposed underground army in America.

The rights of citizens against the wrath and passion of more numerous fellow-citizens are fragile. Thus a whole people amongst our many peoples was in effect charged and jailed upon the premise that one or another among them might be disloyal. Thirty years after, the argument seems absurd—but it did not seem absurd to Franklin Roosevelt when he signed Executive Order 9066 and it did not seem absurd to those who inspired the order for “removal” or to those who carried it out.

Photos courtesy of National Archives







It takes 8 tons of
freight to beat 1 Jap



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Ralph Guzman

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Community Studies at the University
of California at Santa Cruz.

The Function of Anglo-American Racism in the Political Development of *Chicanos*

California's Mexican Americans, like all minority groups in the United States, have been victims of mental stereotype held by the "Anglo" majority. Often the effect of these stereotypes is to assign blame for conditions caused by racism on the victims rather than the purveyors of prejudice. For example, the fact that a large portion of a particular group is poor is explained by the group's "laziness" or "lack of ambition" rather than by the effects of discrimination. Ralph Guzman explores some of the political implications of the common stereotypes that have been applied to Chicanos in California and the Southwest.

THE SOUTHWEST is a region that differs from the eastern seaboard geographically and sociologically. The conditions of social contact between those who held political power and those who did not were not the same. Thus the political socialization of minority groups like the *Chicanos*¹ followed paths that were only vaguely reminiscent of the Irish experience and that of other European immigrants who came to the East Coast.

Why the *Chicano* experience should differ so drastically from that of the European immigrants is explored in this essay. My thesis is that historical conditions of social contact between a group-in-power and a group-out-of-power, generate a number of attitudes, assumptions, judgments, and stereotypes—one of the other, that have a *major* influence upon both. These, I argue, are part of the political socialization of a people. To understand the political development of *Chicanos* in the Southwest, one must analyze two kinds of ideologies. One is the aggregation of articulated views, judgments, and presuppositions about ethnic groups that have been held by the dominant society—the Anglo view. For convenience, these are labeled *Anglo group ideologies*. The other is the aggregation of perceptions of the larger society by the minority and its internal self-appraisal, labeled

Chicano group ideologies—the *Chicano* view. My focus here is on Anglo group ideologies.

Contrary to an assumption popular in the East, the Southwest and Far West do not have a tradition of racial tolerance. The historical conditions of social contact between *Chicanos* and the larger Southwest society bear ample testimony to the opposite. A relevant contrast between this region and the rest of the United States is the different origin of the “foreigners.” Historically, the Southwestern “foreigners” were mainly American Indians and *Chicanos*. There were few blacks. After some time, people of recent European origin penetrated the Southwest. Many had already become “Americanized” elsewhere in the United States and they embraced the Anglo-Saxon notion of the subordinate position of Orientals, *Chicanos*, and Indians with great zeal. Thus, racial ideologies prevailing elsewhere in the nation found ready acceptance in the Southwest—only the targets were different.

The American obsession with race has indeed had a powerful influence on the *Chicano* people. This influence has differed in intensity from place to place as well as over time. In Texas, prevailing views of race have a Southern tinge, with blacks, as the reference population. In California racial views reflect the North, the South, and other regions of the country.

One of the effects of the majority’s racial ideologies has been the social, political and economic suppression of *Chicanos*. Politics has been one of the main arenas of competition in which *Chicanos* have long been unable to act with maximum effectiveness. This failure, often attributed to political apathy, in fact seems to reflect clear knowledge of Anglo institutional repression. Apathy implies a choice not to act while knowing that action is possible. In the past much of the reluctance of *Chicanos* to compete in politics reflected their belief that such action was not possible. *Chicanos* did not vote, not because voting was an Anglo thing, but because Anglos forbade *Chicano* involvement at the polls. American society imposed clear restrictions based on law and custom. These were enforced with violence and terror.

The political socialization of a minority group is retarded when the host society is perceived to be, or is indeed, hostile. By comparison, cultural factors, such as the often cited *individualism* of *Chicanos*, language deficiencies, and the apathy usually associated with poverty, have probably been of secondary importance. Fear has been a strong inhibiting factor in the world of the exploited: fear of the society that controls him, fear of his ethnic brothers, and often fear of himself. Fear stunts the political growth of any group and it also damages its educational and economic development. In the case of the *Chicanos*, some of their political development was, in fact, effectively reduced through self-stereotypes which often duplicated the

majority's perjorative views of the *Chicano* minority. The Anglo judgment that *Chicanos* are emotional can provide a convenient excuse for political and social failure. Similarly, transference of the opinion that *Chicanos* do not work hard from the economic sector to the political arena severely limits the *Chicano* community's opportunities to acquire meaningful political power. Both majority views establish the parameters for self-fulfilling prophecies.

The discussion of majority ideologies in the Southwest is divided in the following pages into decades so as to allow judgments on the varying degrees to which they inhibited *Chicano* political growth. Decades have been selected for this purpose without any claim that the society's articulated views really changed with the passage of each 10-year period. Evidently, majority views of the *Chicanos* were formed throughout the entire period of social contact that began in the early years of the nineteenth century.² In large measure, the stereotypes formed during this period conformed to nativistic themes, emphasizing foreign-ness, hinting at radicalism, and at the unacceptability of Catholicism. Almost always *Chicanos* were assumed to represent a different religion and a different race. These themes sometimes led to sympathetic concern, but increasingly, with the wave of immigration that accompanied the Mexican revolution, they led to expressions of alarm.

In 1912 a sociology student from the University of Southern California conducted a study of *Chicanos* living in Los Angeles that was published in a Methodist mission magazine. Although his orientation was sympathetic, the student faithfully reproduced the view of *Chicanos* held in the dominant society of that time. His writings appeared at a time when border raids by Francisco (Pancho) Villa were common topics of conversation.

It is generally estimated that there are from 20,000 to 40,000 Mexicans within the city boundaries. . . . Economic reasons [are] of great influence in causing them to come to the United States. . . . Very few of the Mexicans are naturalized, due in the main to their ignorance of the possibility and somewhat to their prejudice against Americans and American customs. . . . The Mexican laborer is generally regarded as *less efficient* than other labor. . . . The chief fault found with the Mexican laborer is his *irregularity and uncertainty*. Much of this is caused by drunkenness. . . .

The Mexican *plane of living is probably the lowest* of any race in the City. . . . There is general antipathy for the Mexicans, and they are looked down upon by all races. The Mexicans meet this attitude with one of haughty indifference. . . . The social life of the Mexicans is meager in the extreme.

The Mexicans furnish more than their proportion of *criminals*. . . . These people are non-moral rather than immoral, but their conditions are immoral from the viewpoint of Christian civilization and are a perpetual challenge to us to improve them. . . . The small children attend public school. . . . but as soon as it is possible for them to do so, they *quit school and go to work*. The small children are very bright, quick,

attentive and responsive, but, after reaching the fifth grade, they become slow and dull. A general cause of this mental condition is more or less irregular attendance, due to home conditions. The problems presented by this *race of ignorant, illiterate and non-moral people, complicated by their low plane of living, their tendency to crime, and their bad housing conditions*, are serious in the extreme and urgently demand the attention of all Christian reformers and social workers. . . . [Emphases added]³

The document focuses attention on the reality component in the stereotyped view of *Chicanos*. Though admittedly using primitive research techniques, the above generalizations represent the student's attempt at systematic exploration of reality; official statistics are cited, interviews conducted, and some direct observations are made. In the political arena, on the other hand, ethnic stereotypes are based on a process of abstraction which—unlike the attempt at objectivity even in this primitive empirical research—often selects, exaggerates, and preserves observations without continuous check on “reality.” (Congressional hearings and similar investigations may be exceptions.) Once established as conventional categories, ethnic stereotypes, at least latently, incorporate a plan of action toward the ethnic group. As already indicated, the minority often inadvertently “cooperates” with the majority in perpetuating the stereotype. For example, accommodative minority leaders may find it convenient to relate to the dominant system in conventional terms, and “special concessions” may be made to the ethnic group based on its stereotyped characteristics. In this regard, the stereotype may become in part a self-fulfilling prophecy, insofar as its preservation establishes a universe of discourse within which *both* majority and minority can interact.

Thus, the statements made in this document were like—and yet unlike—statements made about *Chicanos* in the ensuing years. I turn to a detailed account of the period of the twenties.

Nativist feeling was at a high pitch in the 1920's. Concern over the preservation of the “American stock” was the subject of extensive public debate. In the Southwest, the debate took the form of fears that the region might be mongrelized by “Mexicans.” Samuel J. Holmes, a professor of zoology at the University of California, argued that *Chicanos* like the African slaves of an earlier era, represented a problem that might not end for centuries.⁴ Similar warnings about the “danger of building up in this state a large mongrel population” were issued in Texas.⁵ Apprehension that the American stock would be diluted by *Chicanos* was expressed by Robert F. Foerster, a Princeton professor of economics, in these words:

It is a deplorable fact that numerous, intelligent and enterprising one hundred per cent Americans, to say nothing of other brands, are busy helping along this insidious elimination of their own breed in favor of the progeny of Mexican peons who will continue to afflict us with an embarrassing race problem.⁶

The relative racial qualifications of the *Chicano* people were a subject of extensive discussion, often centering on the concept of the *mestizo* or the mixed race. Hybrids produced by the union of distant stocks might tend to be "superior to the poorer strain and inferior to the better strain."⁷ On this basis, the exemption of Western Hemisphere immigrants from the national quota system of 1924 was debated on the floor of both the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives, but an amendment to include them in the system was soundly defeated. The issue was reopened in the years 1926 to 1930 when public debate focused for the first time directly on immigration from Mexico. Again, however, no action was taken. In the main, the insistence of Southwest agricultural employers that they needed Mexican labor, combined with foreign policy considerations, was sufficient to ward off attempts to legislate a curtailment of Mexican immigration. But the Congressional debate revealed again the then current preoccupation with race. Congressman John Box of Texas, who sponsored a bill in 1926 to include the Western Hemisphere countries under the quota law, stated that Mexican immigrants were "illiterate, unclean, peonized masses" who stemmed from "a mixture of Mediterranean-blooded Spanish peasants with low grade Indians who did not fight to extinction but submitted and multiplied as serfs."⁸ Likewise, Senator John B. Kendrick observed "that of all the alien races they [the *Chicanos*] amalgamate the least with the white man; they live entirely in a separate way." But he added that they were really an orderly people in our country.⁹

In Texas, the dominant society tended to equate *Chicanos* with blacks, and notions of racial inferiority were easily transferred from one group to the other. The African strains that some *Chicano* people reflected were attributed to 19th century runaway slaves from Texas and Louisiana who settled in the state of Veracruz. It was reported that the Indian women of Veracruz like the "liveliness and good humor" of the persecuted blacks "better than the quieter ways of their own countrymen."¹⁰ The fact that a few *Chicanos* were, indeed, descendants of black slaves from the South helped to validate the tendency to equate all *Chicanos* or at least the darker ones with black Americans.

Interestingly, the hopeful notion of the melting pot, so commonly applied to European immigrants in the 1920's was seldom invoked with respect to *Chicanos*. It was generally assumed that the latter represented a separate race with such foreign ideas and habits, social standards, and historical traditions that they were disqualified from membership in American society. To one writer *Chicanos* were an underprivileged and unas-similable group of people that threatened to "lessen the racial homogeneity of our population."¹¹

Not all articulated views were so negative. For example, one writer stressed the *Chicano* population did produce good citizens when they were

paid a living and a stable wage.¹² Another believed that the *Chicano* was a *peon* (a peasant) who was not such a bad fellow even though he was "hopelessly more alien to the United States than any European."¹³ Still another observer concluded that the *Chicanos* were confused in their own minds as to whether they were or were not Americans.¹⁴

Because the *Chicano* was not seen as being assimilable and because he was not a black, it was suggested that he might represent a third separate group. The notion of a "third race" was also upheld by some Mexican intellectuals during this period. For example, Enrique Santibañez, the Mexican Consul General in San Antonio, Texas, said:

Judging the bronze race by its color and remembering that the Anglo-Saxon was not mixed with the colored races one must conclude that future generations of Mexicans, living in the United States, will live apart from the larger society, which is basically white and nordic, for as long as we can see. In other words, Mexicans will never be an integral part of the spiritual life of the American people. . . .

Consequently, the United States will never be a harmonious social unit as it was when it was founded. Instead the United States will be a society divided into three parts: white, bronze, and black.¹⁵

Pressure from the white people to keep *Chicanos* on the same level as the black was resisted by the *Chicano* people, according to Handman. Pressure of this type, Handman predicted, would someday cause bitterness, animosity, and conflict. Interestingly, he intimated that *Chicanos* would revolt against the larger society before the blacks did. In this respect Handman's comment is noteworthy.

The Negro-white situation is difficult enough, but it is simple. The Negro has his place in the scheme of things. He is disfranchised and he accepts it—for how long I do not know—but he accepts it. He is limited in his educational opportunities and in his occupational field, and he accepts that also. But the Mexican is theoretically limited neither in his educational opportunities nor in his occupational field. Neither is he disfranchised.¹⁶

Enough has been said to suggest that, reflecting a general trend in American Society, the core of the Southwest ideology between 1920 and 1930 in regard to *Chicanos* was clearly racial. However, the thrust of this concern was not *how* *Chicanos* could be brought into the larger community. It was instead focused on differentiation, on characteristics that served to rationalize the social exclusion of the group. Differentiation was made using social referents familiar to the majority; namely black people and American Indians. Majority group ideologies in the 1920's, of course, greatly deterred the political socialization of *Chicanos*. With the possible exception of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), a middle class group with important links in the larger society, *Chicanos* appeared to offer

no significant resistance to this condition. Yet they were not silent and they did not accept the ideological judgments of the larger society. Reaction came on the *barrio* level in neighborhood *platicas* (conversations) and only sporadically from organized *Chicano* groups. The attempted formation of a Federation of Mexican Laborers' Unions and the strike of cantaloupe pickers in California's Imperial Valley in the late 1930's is one example of organized *Chicano* reaction. However, both of these episodes tended to confirm the Anglo view that *Chicano* organizations were susceptible to foreign ideologies that threatened the American social order. The violent Imperial Valley strike, a precursor of labor strife, served notice that *Chicanos* could be effective revolutionaries, proving themselves to be considerably less docile than was commonly believed.¹⁷

Anglo preoccupation with race in the 1930's centered on the masses of Mexicans who had poured into the United States in the previous decade and who continued to cross the border without formal immigration. These illegals were called "wet" Mexicans because they often waded or swam across the Rio Grande. They entered the United States, it was charged, to "become the fathers of born-on-the-soil offspring, whose right to American citizenship cannot be denied."¹⁸ The prolific birth rate of these people was seen as a threat to American society. *Chicano* children were considered a hybrid race of inferior quality. "Their white strain," one observer said, "may be 1/16, 1/32, or 1/64. The rest may be Amerind (American Indian), Negro, or a mixture of the two."¹⁹

With the growth of the feminist movement in the United States, attention turned to the plight of the *Chicano* woman who was believed to be completely submissive to the whims and wishes of the male. According to this notion, the freedom that American women enjoyed was incomprehensible and bewildering to *Chicanas*. To the militant feminists, *Chicanas* were stark reminders of an archaic social system where the males possessed absolute authority. Unfamiliar with the English language and long conditioned to a life of personal sacrifice, *Chicanas* apparently were not recruited by the feminist movement of this era. However, a few middle class *Chicanas* became involved in prototypical protest movements.²⁰

The empathy and chagrin of the American woman was expressed by Ruth Allen who wrote:

Uncomplainingly, she labors in the field for months at a time and receives as a reward from the head of the family, some gew-gaw from the five and ten cent store, or at best, a new dress. The supremacy of the male is seldom disputed. First her father, then her husband, or, if she becomes a widow, her son, receive her unquestioning service.²¹

As the *Chicano* people became more evident in or near large urban centers, the majority's attention turned to the problem of crime. *Chicanos*

were considered a people with substantial and perhaps irradicable criminal proclivities. There was an assumption of criminality particularly in confrontations between school, police, and social welfare officials. The young with their stylishly long hair, bizarre dress habits, and reputed drug habits were the special targets of an irate majority group. The belief that all *Chicanos* had deeply imbedded criminal tendencies was not easily disproved when the jails were almost always crowded with *Chicano* inmates.

The judgment of criminality and the numbers who were actually in prison combined to cement the view that *Chicanos* were, in fact, dangerous to the social order. In California, for example, a state prison report claimed that sixty per cent of the violations of prison laws and rules were caused by *Chicano* prisoners who refused to conform. One writer noted that California has "as many Mexican prisoners as the entire prison population of two American states."²²

Another significant ideology during the 1930's was the view that *Chicanos* were a docile, unintelligent people who were susceptible to communism. This view was stressed as the Anglo fear of communism increased. Bogardus, a sociologist, warned that "A Christmas basket for one day in the year and poverty for 365 days . . . [was] poor philanthropy . . . to keep the Mexican from becoming a bolshevist."²³ Communist recruitment in *Chicano barrios* during the 1930's remains as another unwritten chapter in the history of these people. For example, the International Workers of the World and other radical groups entered *Chicano* neighborhoods in massive efforts to recruit members. Their limited success in recruiting bore strange fruit in the 1950's when the federal government arrested and deported scores of *Chicanos* who had joined the IWW during this earlier period.

As the Southwest became engulfed in the Great Depression, protection of native labor and the reduction of welfare expenses were Anglo concerns. In an attempt to resolve both needs, *Chicanos*, whatever the legality of their presence in the United States, were rounded up and forcibly removed from the United States. This episode of extreme Anglo hostility represents still another little known chapter in the history of the *Chicanos*.

During the 1930's interactions between *Chicanos* and the larger society became varied, and so did mutual perceptions. The conditions of social contact which were previously rural and caste-like in quality altered slightly. A few (very few) obtained membership in traditional labor unions. Others attended meetings of organizations like the IWW. The era of the New Deal, with its stress on social reforms, helped to change a few majority group attitudes toward *Chicanos* but not in a substantial manner. Still, on the whole, the caste-like relationship that typified life in the rural areas was modified. An unsteady foundation, the beginning of the urban phase of the *Chicano* people's political socialization had been established.

World War II increased the urbanization of *Chicano* population; but urban institutions were ill prepared to cope with the *Chicano* people. Both public and private agencies saw *Chicanos* as problems, and rarely as potential contributors to society. School systems established special schools and police agencies made special efforts to discover the inner workings of the *Chicano* mind. An example of law enforcement research in this area can be seen in a 1942 report to the Los Angeles County Grand Jury by a member of the Sheriff's Department from the same county. In the early 1940's juvenile disorders involving *Chicanos* had increased. The Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department assigned Ed Duran Ayres to make a study. His analysis included the conclusion that all *Chicanos* were biologically inferior and disposed to violence. Officer Ayres said that *Chicanos* were unlikely to respect the American tradition of a fair fight because of their peculiar genetic make-up. The Ayres report states in part:

The caucasian, especially the Anglo-Saxon, when engaged in fighting, particularly among youths, resorts to fisticuffs and may at times kick each other, which is considered unsportive, but this Mexican element considers all that to be a sign of weakness, and all he knows and feels is a desire to use a knife or some lethal weapon. In other words, his desire is to kill, or at least let blood. That is why it is difficult for the Anglo-Saxon to understand the psychology of the Indian or even the Latin, and it is just as difficult for the Indian or the Latin to understand the psychology of the Anglo-Saxon or those from Northern Europe.²⁴

The Chief of the Los Angeles Police Department wrote a letter to the foreman of the Grand Jury endorsing the Ayres findings:

Lieutenant Ayres of the Sheriff's Department, gave an intelligent statement of the psychology of the Mexican people, particularly the youths. He stated many of the contributing factors that caused the gang activities.²⁵

A year later, in June, 1943, the Los Angeles zoot-suit riots began. The riots were widely reported, and they brought *Chicanos* before the nation much more forcefully than had the meager ethnic writings of the past. The riots were violent upheavals. The participants were, on the one hand, young *Chicanos*—teenagers and young adults—called *pachucos* by the *Chicano* bourgeoisie. Armed forces personnel and white civilians of all ages represented the other side.²⁶ Sporadic fighting in bars, theatres, streetcars, and the public streets continued for five days.

Newspaper accounts were, in large part, unfavorable to the *Chicanos*. There were racial overtones in the reporting and much of what officer Ayres had written provided a basis for hasty journalism. The good guys were Anglos and members of the armed forces and the bad guys were *Chicanos*. On a purely impressionistic level, there was something quite natural about these confrontations; *Chicanos* and Anglo-Americans squared

off against each other as they had for generations, only this time the battleground was the city of Los Angeles instead of the agricultural fields and the mining camps of the past. *Chicanos* objected to the role of the newspapers but there was little that they could do. Daily newspapers published stories in which armed forces personnel were always cleared of wrongdoing.

A number of well-known public figures addressed themselves to the issue of race. Eleanor Roosevelt suggested that the riots could be traced to long-standing discrimination against *Chicanos*. She expressed concern for the welfare of *Chicanos* living in California and in states along the border. In Los Angeles, authorities denied Mrs. Roosevelt's allegations, and so did the California State Chamber of Commerce.²⁷ Earl Warren, then Governor of the State, argued that "this isn't a Mexican problem, this is an American problem. It is one of juvenile delinquency . . ."²⁸ There is no question that the riots had serious social consequences. On the one hand, they added one more bitter experience to the history of the *Chicano* people; on the other, then convinced many members of the larger society that *Chicanos* were not assimilable.

Significantly, sources for this period are generally letters, official documents, and newspaper accounts. Serious scholarly analysis of these events is scarce. In an article for the *American Journal of Sociology* Turner and Surace did a content analysis of newspaper articles that appeared during this period.²⁹ Yet newspapers and other literature remain as principal sources.

The *Christian Century* magazine noted that news pictures supported the conclusion that these were race riots. Overt hostility was clearly directed at *Chicanos* because "no white wearers of these bizarre clothes [zoot-suits] were disturbed" and because "hundreds of Mexicans and Negroes who were not wearing zoot-suits were attacked."³⁰

It is, of course, difficult to link the overt behavior of Anglo mobs to Anglo ideology. It is similarly quite a task to show empirically that *Chicano* street corner societies based their actions on a minority ideology. Nevertheless, substantive assumptions of social roles were involved on both sides of the conflict. On one side, second generation *Chicano* youths refused the subservient social roles that American institutions demanded for them. They fought the larger society without strategies, without internal communications, and almost, it seemed, with suicidal recklessness. For young *Chicanos* the zoot-suit riots were not unlike a pogrom; the street battles involved "us" and "them" explicitly and without gentle protocol. On the other side, equally young Anglos from many parts of the United States, a terribly frightened mass of confused, uprooted draftees with over-blown notions of Americanism found ideal conditions for the displacement of

pressured frustrations in the foreign-looking *Chicano* neighborhoods. With only a slight mental adjustment, the *Chicano* could even look Japanese. For *Chicanos*, the sounds of hate and the acts of violence were not unfamiliar—they were deeply rooted in the folklore, the ballads and the legends of *la raza*. Uniformed or not, the Anglos were, as always, the enemy.

Turner and Surace saw a conflict of ideologies within the majority group. Some *Chicanos* were associated with romantic Olvera Street (an important tourist attraction), and other romantic images. Others were linked with a rising tide of juvenile vandalism and deviant social behavior. In order to resolve this contradiction, and to provide a more explicit moral justification for racial discrimination, an unambiguous, unfavorable symbol was needed. The two sociologists suggested that the zoot-suit label had connotations of sex crimes, draft-dodging, gang warfare, and other unsavory images. The zoot-suit label which technically applied across ethnic and class lines to all wearers of the garb, was simply equated to *Chicanos*. Thus *Chicanos*, whatever their clothing preferences, were beaten, arrested and otherwise humiliated by non-discriminating members of the larger society.³¹

The conditions of social contact between *Chicanos* and the larger society were altered by the demographic change from rural to urban but they were not improved. Greater social mobility—meaning freedom to live where they chose, eat at restaurants they could afford, visit public facilities that offered comfort and rest—was not forthcoming for all *Chicanos*.

The ground rules of American society in the cities were often even more explicit than they were in the agrarian areas. Signs on house porches and in employment agencies advised *Chicanos* in Spanish and in English that they were not welcome. When written signs were missing the silent language of the doorman, the foreman, the school principal, and others, made it apparent that social ingress was not possible.

The state of Texas to this day provides the best examples of social exclusion. For example, in 1945 a U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Education learned that *Chicanos* from McCarney, Texas, traveled forty-five miles to Fort Stockton for a haircut because Anglo barbers would not cut *Chicano* hair and *Chicanos* could not legally become barbers in McCarney.³² Other witnesses reported that they could not use a public street to celebrate a Fourth of July because the holiday was "for white people only."³³ In a Texas restaurant a *Chicano* customer, asked to identify his race, answered "Misanthrope" and was promptly served.

The war years forced *Chicanos* to interact widely and intensely with the larger society. Change had to take place because *Chicanos* and other disadvantaged groups were needed in the defense factories and in the battlefields. The competence of *Chicanos* as semi-skilled workers modified some

stereotype attitudes. At one Los Angeles area aircraft company an enterprising *Chicano* rose from the position of custodian to a high administrative post "mostly on nerve and need."³⁴

On the battle front, the fighting qualities of *Chicano* servicemen serving in integrated units similarly influenced majority group reservations about their loyalty. While the war years did not completely reverse majority views of the past, they did bring about increased social interaction between *Chicanos* and non-*Chicanos*. For *Chicanos*, the war years became another important stage in their urban political socialization. The war experience and post-war developments, such as the educational opportunities offered to *Chicanos* through the G.I. Bill of Rights, helped *Chicanos* to see American society more clearly.

The majority's views of *Chicano* political behavior have, of course, a very direct bearing on the political participation of *Chicanos*. These views have been a part of the Anglo ideologies as far back as the early years of this century. Among the most important are (1) that *Chicanos* in general are submissive and, therefore not capable of effective political activity; (2) that *Chicanos* are deeply imbued with foreign values and, therefore, cannot understand the American political system; and (3) that *Chicanos* cannot achieve ethnic unity. These views have more or less persisted to the present day.

It was often said that *Chicanos* had values that were not consonant with the American value system. In politics, for example, *Chicanos* were not expected to understand cherished beliefs about the rights of man, freedom of religion, and other constitutional guarantees. *Chicanos* were considered products of a semi-feudal, colonial social system where the poor obeyed the dictates of benevolent employers. *Chicano* women, Anglo ideologues argued, were shamefully mistreated by their husbands. Finally, it was argued that Roman Catholics, particularly primitive Roman Catholics, could not possibly practice religious freedom.

The assumption of submissiveness carried with it the belief that *Chicanos* were not interested in the acquisition of political power. It was held that members of this minority were accustomed to the commands of priests and labor *patrones*. Consequently, personal initiative was not a well developed trait. People without personal initiative, it was rationalized, could not aspire to the control of political institutions.

The conclusion that *Chicanos* were irrevocably Catholic and eternally foreign was a powerful and pervasive conclusion. The Roman Catholic Church was, indeed, foreign and totally overwhelming. Fear existed that *Chicanos* would react according to the direction of the Church once they acquired political power. Traditional Anglo mistrust of the Roman Catholic Church found a new target in the *Chicano* group. In Los Angeles,

civic meetings held in parish halls reinforced the belief that priests and nuns guarded the political life of their impressionable but devout parishioners. The truth is that the Roman Catholic Church, operated by Anglo nuns and priests, did exercise substantial political control over devout *Chicanos*.

Well-meaning individuals who were willing to help the *Chicano* people during the early post-war years were openly skeptical about the ability of these people to organize effectively. Liberal democrats in particular were doubtful. In Los Angeles they greeted the first mass registration of *Chicano* voters in the country with aplomb. While viewing the figures that reported great success, a liberal Democrat said, "So they're registered, will they vote?"

Ideologies are often inconsistent. For example, in the 1930's a view diametrically opposed to the assumption of an incurable ethnic disunity existed. *Chicanos* were considered to be group-minded, and thus there was apprehension that they might develop a Tammany Hall type of organization. Evidence for this fear of *Chicano* bloc voting and machine politics came from experience in the state of New Mexico. Ethnic politics in that state proved to some observers that *Chicanos* practiced a religious-ethnic solidarity even within the political system. Only one party, the Democrats or the Republicans, received the votes of the *Chicanos* according to one Anglo scholar. He indicated that New Mexico's *Chicano* population would accept whatever political party their leaders designated. As a consequence, recruitment of *Chicano* voters by *non-Chicano* outsiders was considered difficult. "This is something our Anglos . . . find extremely irritating," a writer commented.³⁵ New Mexico, then, where the political involvement of the *Chicanos* was extremely high (when one compares that state with the rest of the Southwest), justified an ideological conclusion that was out of phase with judgments about disunity made in other regions.

Why the Anglo majority would appear to emphasize ethnic unity in New Mexico while underscoring disunity elsewhere is not difficult to understand when region and time are considered. The *Chicano* population was deeply rooted in New Mexico when American political institutions were imposed. The state's institutions were already in *Chicano* hands, and group mindedness and religious-ethnic solidarity was indeed a reality. New Mexicans reacted negatively to outsiders—the conquering Anglos who seized their land with the force of arms. Nevertheless, in terms of time, New Mexico *Chicanos* had a head start of a few generations over *Chicanos* from other states, particularly those who came later in the 20th century. *Chicanos* in New Mexico represented an original population as opposed to the immigrant population from Mexico that followed. New Mexicans appeared to interact with American society *as a group* with a solidarity that distinguished them sharply from *Chicanos* living elsewhere.

Still another image of *Chicanos* was that as a group they were easily controlled. While this notion appealed to many members of the dominant Anglo society, it tended to repel others. In the 1920's and 1930's, fear was expressed that *Chicanos* would not vote for the "vested interests" in agriculture and industry on which they depended and that rural landlords, in particular, would be able to herd them to the polls with "banners flying."³⁶ On the other hand, it was said that the group was also easy prey for demagogues. "Socialism, the I.W.W. and Communism find a ready soil for their seed among the Mexicans in our country," said one writer who deplored *Chicano* "gullibility."³⁷

Thus, the apprehensions of Anglo society militated against political activity by *Chicanos*. Adding to the Anglo majority's fears was a feeling of uncertainty, ambivalence, and frustration with regard to *Chicano* leadership. Until World War II it was commonly believed that the group was devoid of responsible leaders who could stimulate a sense of collective commitment—part of an Anglo ideology that *Chicanos* were quiescent and satisfied with life at it was. Typical of this view was an Anglo businessman's statement that *Chicanos* were a contented and leaderless people "who did not, in the last analysis, know what they wanted. They are like children."³⁸ Finally, *Chicanos* were considered to be even more handicapped because socially mobile *Chicanos*, the economic achievers, tended to forsake life in the *barrio*, thus depriving lower class *Chicanos* of an articulate middle class.³⁹

Anglo expectations concerning *Chicano* leadership have always had a significant impact on the political participation of this minority. This impact became even greater after World War II when growing urbanization and the return of *Chicano* veterans who did maintain their contact with people living in the *barrio* increased the political potential of the group. The importance of Anglo ideologies stems partly from the fact that the validation of *Chicano* leaders has often come not from the minority itself but from Anglo society—a condition that parallels the political history of other ethnic or racial groups in this country and has only recently been modified in the case of blacks who prefer self-determination. Thus, Anglos would urge *Chicanos* to find and develop leaders, with the implicit understanding that these would be "acceptable"; or they would express distrust of individuals who represented themselves as *Chicano* spokesmen. It was the political power structure of the dominant Anglo society that ultimately decided who were legitimate *Chicano* leaders. The problem of the validation of *Chicano* leadership has continued to this day.

The aggregated views, judgments, and presuppositions about the *Chicano* minority held by the larger Anglo society have been described. To recapitulate, they constitute constellations of ideologies that differ from

one place to another and from one historical period to the next. In order to clarify what is meant by majority ideologies, the notion of conditions of social contact between the minority and the majority was re-examined in terms of other American ethnic groups. In each instance it was shown that social contact between the minority and the majority generated mutual views that usually hampered and only occasionally assisted the minority group to grow politically. Conditions of social contact on the eastern seaboard were different from those that existed in the Southwest; the ethnic actors were different and so were their reasons for being in this social order. *Chicanos* initially by-passed the well-known process of urban political socialization. While there were few political machines in the Southwest, fear that they might become common in *Chicano* areas was expressed. This fear, and other social expressions concerning *Chicanos*, impinged upon their political experience. They grew politically within an oppressive, racist environment that clearly restricted social opportunity. Within this context of explicit and implicit social discrimination and economic exploration, *Chicanos* created counter-ideologies that contained judgments of the Anglo social order. The contents of those counter-ideologies and their function in the increased political consciousness of *Chicanos* remains to be examined.

NOTES

1. The term *Chicano*, once used almost exclusively by poor, lower class Mexicans who struggled for economic survival in the crowded *barrios* of the Southwest, was also avoided by the Mexican bourgeoisie who lived in more comfortable surroundings. Today, the term has been re-enforced, particularly by the young descendants of both economic classes. It reflects the central thesis of this paper: that American racism in the Southwest limited and attempted to destroy the political development of a people whose major crime was grinding poverty. The term Mexican is used here only to refer to citizens of Mexico or in order to make clear a particular point requiring the use of that term. Otherwise *Chicano* is used throughout the essay.

2. See Cecil Robinson, *With the Ears of Strangers* (Tucson, 1965).

3. *El Mexicano* (November-December, 1913), 1; (January, 1914), 1; and (April, 1914), 2.

4. Kenneth Roberts, "The Docile Mexican," *Saturday Evening Post*, CC (February 18, 1928), 165.

5. William E. Garnett, "Immediate and Pressing Race Problems of Texas," *Proceedings of the Southwestern Political and Social Science Association* (Austin, 1925), 35-36.

6. Samuel J. Holmes, "Perils of Mexican Invasion," *North American Review*, CCXXVII (1929), 622.

7. Robert F. Forester, *The Racial Problems Involved in Immigration from Latin America and the West Indies to the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1925), 330-331.

8. For details and documentation see Ronald Wyse, "The Position of Mexicans in the Immigration and Nationality Laws," in Leo Grebler, *Mexican Immigration to the United States: The Record and its Implications* ("Mexican American Study Project," Advance Report 2, University of California, Los Angeles, 1966), D-9 to D-11.

9. See U.S. Congress, Senate, *Restriction of Western Hemisphere Immigration*, 1928, Hearings, 71.

10. Kenneth Roberts, "Wet and Other Mexicans," *Saturday Evening Post*, (February 4, 1928), 11.

11. Frederick Simpich, "The Little Brown Brother Treks North," *Independent*, CXVI (February 27, 1926), 239.

12. "Let it be said that there is no doubt as to the ultimate ability of the Mexicans to become a good citizen. Pay him a living and stable wage which will enable him to raise his family to the American standard, and put him in an American community which opens its schools and other friendly agencies to him, and he soon surprises and silences his detractors." Charles A. Tomson, "What of the Bracero?" *Survey*, LIV (June 1, 1925), 292.

13. Richard Lee Strout, "A Fence for the Rio Grande," *Independent*, CXX (June 2, 1928), 520.

14. Helen W. Walker, "Mexican Immigrants and American Citizenship," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1928-1929, XIII (1929), 470.

15. Translated from Enrique Santibañez, *Ensayo acerca de la inmigración Mexicana en los Estados Unidos* (San Antonio, 1930) 95.

16. Max Sylvanus Handman, "The Mexican Immigrant in Texas," *Proceedings National Conference of Social Work*, LIII (1926), 338.

17. See *Mexicans in California*, Report of Governor C.C. Young's Mexican Fact-Finding Committee (San Francisco, 1930), 171. Discussion of this point can also be found in Leo Grebler, *Mexican Immigration*, 24.

18. C. M. Goethe, "Peons Need Not Apply," *World's Work*, LIX (November, 1930), 47.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Middle class *Chicanas*, or at least women who could read and write the English language and who had an economic base, led some of the protests of the *barrio* in the 1930's. They would storm the court house, the offices of the social workers, or would bar the path of investigating officials while shouting and gesturing in a most "un-Mexican" manner. Their little-known role suggests still another area deserving intensive historical analysis.

21. Ruth Allen, "Mexican Poen Women in Texas," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVI (November-December 1931), 131.

22. Goethe, "Peons Need Not Apply," 48.

23. Emory Bogardus, *The Mexican in the United States* (Los Angeles, 1934), 48.

24. Letter written by Ed Duran Ayres to E. W. Oliver, Foreman, Los Angeles County Grand Jury, 1942, 2. Copy on file with the UCLA Mexican American Study Project.

25. C. B. Horrall, Letter to Foreman Oliver, on file, with the UCLA Mexican American Study Project.

26. The garments that these young people wore were called "drapes," "zoots," and were synonymous with *Chicanos*. A newspaper explanation of the history and use of zoot suits includes the observation that "many a young Mexican in a zoot suit

works hard and takes his money home to mamacita for frijoles refritos, . . ." Timothy Turner, "Zuit Suits Still Parade Here Despite OPA Ban," *Los Angeles Times*, March 22, 1943, sec. II, 8.

27. Fletcher Bowron, then Mayor of Los Angeles, told newspaper reporters that, "Nothing that has occurred can be construed as due to prejudice against Mexicans or discrimination against young men of any race. Neither is there a foundation for anyone to say that attacks or arrests have been directed toward members of minority groups." *Los Angeles Daily News*, June 10, 1943, 3.

28. *Los Angeles Examiner*, June 17, 1943, Sec. 1, 1.

29. The use of the term *Mexican* in newspapers is carefully traced by these two scholars over a ten and one-half year period. The use of the symbol, they say, led to overt hostility on the part of members of the majority group who were, inadvertently, goaded to act against the *Chicanos*. For further details about this hypothesis see Ralph H. Turner and Samuel J. Surace, "Zoot Suiters and Mexicans: Symbols in Crowd Behavior," *The American Journal of Sociology*, LXII (July 1956), 14-20. See also comments by Neil J. Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior* (London, 1962), 105-106.

30. "Portent of Storm," *Christian Century*, LX (June, 1943), 735.

31. This discussion rests heavily on the article by Ralph H. Turner and Samuel J. Surace.

32. Statement of Alonzo S. Perales, Chairman, Committee of One Hundred, Director General, League of Loyal Americans, San Antonio, Texas, U.S. Congress Senate, Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, Hearings, Fair Employment Practice Act on S.101, S.459, 79th Congress, 1945, 150.

33. *Ibid.*

34. Mr. Paul Zamudio (pseudonym) was first a janitor, then an interpreter, and eventually a high ranking officer in the company.

35. The ideological conclusion that *Chicanos* represented a threat is well documented by Mary H. Austin, "Mexicans and New Mexico," *Survey Graphic*, LXVI (May, 1931), 143.

36. See Kenneth L. Roberts, "Wet and Other Mexicans," 12.

37. Thomas Brown, "The Challenge of Mexican Immigration," *The Missionary Review of the World*, L (September, 1927), 193.

38. Frances Jerome Woods, *Mexican Ethnic Leadership in San Antonio, Texas* (Washington, D.C., 1949), 23-24, 49.

39. Leonard Broom and Eshref Shevky, "Mexicans in the United States," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXXVI (1951-1952), 54.

Book Reviews

Uprooted Americans. By Dillon S. Myer. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971. 360 pp. \$8.50.)

Reviewed by FEROL EGAN, author of the recent award-winning history, The El Dorado Trail.

NATIONS HAVE A NATURAL tendency to cover up shameful acts with euphemistic terminology that rightfully belongs in George Orwell's 1984. Such was the case during World War II when the United States allowed the military to dictate policy and bring about the unconstitutional removal of the Japanese-Americans from their West Coast homes and place them in tar-paper houses smack in the middle of nowhere—houses surrounded by distance, barbed wire, guards, and gun towers. These detention camps were called War Relocation Centers. Put into meaningful English, the term meant one thing: over 110,000 persons—70,000 of them citizens—were placed in prisons because of their nationality.

Many books have been written about this disgraceful period in our history, but *Uprooted Americans* differs in that Dillon S. Myer was the director of the War Relocation Authority for most of its existence. In this most difficult position, he managed to prevent outright racists from making these camps into something far worse than they were; defended the Japanese-Americans against outrageous and irresponsible attacks by the media, ex-sports writers suddenly become race-bating columnists, wild-eyed Congressmen, and such ignoble "civic defenders" as the American Legion and the Native Sons of the Golden West. Myer also was instrumental in opening the way for the Nisei to move out of the camps and go east to finish interrupted college and university training, and he helped to clear the way so that the Nisei could join the U.S. Army, where they earned everlasting fame in the 442nd Combat Team that fought with outstanding bravery and distinction in the Italian campaign.

Most of all, though, Myer handled the many problems of detention camp life with warmth and humanity. For this, he deserves all the credit given to him. Yet, it is strange that in the flow of history that a good man should be remembered for being a humane jailer.

In an attempt to show why the Japanese-Americans were removed from their homes, Myer begins his book with a short chapter on the history of anti-Japanese attitudes on the West Coast. In fact, to give a full picture of the development of racist attitudes, Myer goes back in time to the period of the early Tokugawa Shoguns when Japan launched itself into an isolation policy that lasted until the arrival of Commodore Matthew C. Perry in 1854. But even after this re-opening of Japan, there were few immigrants bound for the United States until the late part of the 19th century and the beginning of this century. However, as immigration increased, California became a center for anti-Japanese attitudes, and the voices of bigotry were openly expressed by the Hearst Press, the McClatchy Press, the Los Angeles *Times*, trade unionists (especially the late Dave Beck), and by various agricultural organizations. All this time, the Issei immigrants could not become citizens because "our first immigration law, passed in 1790, provided that only 'free whites' could be

naturalized." Then to add even more racial bias, it was not possible in California after 1913 for Japanese immigrants to own "agricultural land or to lease such land for a period exceeding three years."

Continued anti-Japanese legislation and anti-Japanese propaganda created mythology and fear. The Japanese were different. They looked different. They ate different food. They spoke a different language. They worked long hours for small wages. And they stayed in their own communities. Of course, it was not fashionable to consider why these differences existed; nor did it enter the public mind that these immigrants and their native-born sons and daughters lived in their own communities mainly because they were not entirely free to live anywhere else.

Year after year a mystique about Japanese-Americans grew and grew in the fertilizer of ignorance. By the start of World War II, the public was ready and willing to believe almost anything about them. At this point of hysteria, there was no great liberal leader to call a halt to the removal of a total population that equaled the size of present-day Berkeley. Instead, General John B. DeWitt was given more than a free hand. Unlike Admiral Nimitz and General Emmons, who did not go along with the notion to evacuate all the Japanese-Americans from Hawaii, General DeWitt received all the help he needed from such West Coast leaders as California's Attorney General Earl Warren who said:

I have come to the conclusion that the Japanese situation in this state today, may well be the Achilles heel of the entire civilian defense effort. Unless something is done it may bring about a repetition of Pearl Harbor.

With support coming from Attorney General Earl Warren and Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, the stage was set for a tragic drama. Step by step, Dillon Myer peels back the layers of bigotry, the diary of fear that resulted in the betrayal of the Japanese-Americans. Then he carefully documents the war years, the camp years, and the returning home years after the end of the war. Everything is here, and it is a book that should be required reading for all Americans. For it proves one thing beyond any shadow of a doubt: "It can and did happen here!" The big question that *Uprooted Americans* cannot answer is: "Can it happen again?"

The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920. By Robert F. Heizer and Alan F. Almquist. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971. 278 pp. \$7.95).

Reviewed by ROGER OLMSTED, *Editor of the CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.*

In *The Other Californians*, the distinguished University of California (Berkeley) anthropologists Robert Heizer and Alan Almquist have put together an anthology to a greater extent than they have themselves synthesized the history of racism in California. The extensive quotations from multitudinous sources give the reader the real flavor of official or majority attitudes toward "the others" that one would not be apt to find in a more usual scholarly approach. Just as a compendium of racist rhetoric from the mouths of Californians this book deserves a place on the shelves of California historians.

Nearly half of the book concerns the historic treatment of the California Indian.

Against the charge that the anthropologist authors have overweighted the work toward their area of specialty, one may argue that the extermination of nearly 300,000 Indians by Spaniard, Mexican, and American well deserves to loom larger, for once, than the more sophisticated (and less deadly) attacks upon subsequent "others." At the same time, the work would be much stronger if it had ended with the debates in the California Constitutional Convention regarding the rights of Indians, blacks, and other non-caucasians, or better, if it had followed up the theme only through the Gold Rush years. Then such real contributions as the detailed passages on Indian indenture and slavery would not have been marred by association with the very weak chapters on the Chinese and Japanese, chapters which are so obviously afterthoughts that they fail to mention Denis Kearney and the Workingmen's Party or the Alien Land Act. The cut-off date of 1920 itself makes no sense except as it indicates that the authors had run out of steam long before that date and recognized the increasing folly of carrying the work forward. Yet a partly excellent work is better than none at all, and if *The Other Californians* is at its best in dealing with the California Indians, we should read it for that.

Manual of Hispanic Bibliography. Compiled by David W. Foster and Virginia Ramos Foster. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970. 206 pp. \$11.00.)

Reviewed by ROBERT R. MILLER, *Professor of History, California State College at Hayward.*

RESEARCHERS, WRITERS, and reference librarians will welcome this fine addition to the field of bibliographic guides. Essentially this volume is a bibliography of bibliographies relating to Spanish and Spanish American literature. Historians and social scientists will find many references to works about the Spanish borderlands, and an entire section on bibliographies of the Latin American republics, arranged by country. Other topics include references to lists of unpublished theses, several categories of published bibliographies, guides to periodical literature, guides to libraries and collections, and period bibliographies. There are 796 annotated entries; some deal with early printing and typography in the Spanish empire, others with Latin American newspapers and literary magazines in the United States, manuscripts in Spanish archives, pseudonyms and anagrams in Spanish literature, Spanish language newspapers published in Louisiana, and many other related subjects.

The compilers of this book are professors of Spanish; David Foster teaches at Arizona State University, and Virginia Foster teaches at Phoenix College. Their manual will be used by generations of students, scholars, and librarians.

American Racism: Exploration of the Nature of Prejudice. By Roger Daniels and Harry H. L. Kitano. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970. 155 pp. \$4.94 hard cover; \$1.95 paperback.)

Reviewed by NATHAN HARE, *Editor of The Black Scholar.*

RACISM, as we know it now, was unknown to the world until the European

expansion which began only a few centuries ago. True, there were slaves almost from the beginning of time, but without special regard to race or color.

American Racism "defines" and "illustrates" how the phenomenon of white racism came about. It distinguishes such concepts as racism ("the belief that one or more races have innate superiority over other races") and ethnocentrism ("the belief that one's own group is the best or superior to all others").

"Focusing initially" on the "interesting" California model of racism, with its uniquely multi-ethnic complex, the authors, Roger Daniels (a Jewish social scientist and author of *The Politics of Prejudice*) and Harry H. L. Kitano (a second generation Japanese American historian and author of *Japanese Americans*) lay bare the "many-hued nature" of racial prejudice. Kitano was "relocated" with other West Coast Japanese during World War II, and both authors have participated in a "variety of civil rights and economic opportunity programs."

However, the authors' ethnic origins appear to prejudice their focus, which is highly concentrated on the experiences of their own respective groups to which they tend to give an exaggerated place on the scale of the relative victimization of groups with the spectrum of ethnic discrimination. While admitting that prejudice against blacks may involve a different "constellation of factors" than anti-semitism, for example, they concentrate nonetheless on what they call "extraordinary factors" such as apartheid and genocide, only vaguely mindful that the "ordinary solutions" of segregation and discrimination experienced by black Americans are extraordinary in degree and tenacity.

Aside from a fair amount of academic twaddle, such as their "two-category" analysis, the authors write smoothly and clearly. The reader finds among the historical data such tidbits as the following headlines from the *San Francisco Chronicle* of 1905: "CRIME AND POVERTY GO HAND IN HAND WITH ASIATIC LABOR," "BROWN MEN ARE MADE CITIZENS ILLEGALLY," "JAPANESE A MENACE TO AMERICAN WOMEN," "BROWN MEN AS AN EVIL IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS," "ADULT JAPANESE CROWD OUT CHILDREN," "BROWN PERIL ASSUMES NATIONAL PROPORTIONS," "BROWN ARTISANS STEAL BRAINS OF WHITES," and so on. The *Los Angeles Times*, as late as December, 1941, is not much better. A sample of headlines in that month: "TWO JAPANESE WITH MAPS AND ALIEN LITERATURE SEIZED," "VEGETABLES FOUND FREE OF POISON," "FOOD PLOT FEARS SPREAD," and "CHINESE ABLE TO SPOT JAP."

There also are some platitudinous data and observations in *American Racism* such as those showing that the costs of discrimination are high for society in general. But the authors do manage to dispel old fallacies and outworn theories on racism, setting fire particularly to the pathological approach (notable in *The Authoritarian Personality*) where racism is linked to personality disturbances. A "normal" person (one adjusted to a society self-defined as racist by the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders in the Spring of 1968) may be more discriminatory, the authors observe, than persons not so well adjusted. Besides, racist attitudes may not jibe exactly with discriminatory behavior. Social scientists now know that there are racist-discriminators, non-racist discriminators, racist non-discriminators, and non-racist non-discriminators.

Perhaps the most interesting and useful portion of *American Racism* is its analysis of "triggering" circumstances behind the Nazi concentration camps and the American evacuation and relocation of Japanese during World War II. The authors seek to answer the final question: "Can it happen again?" They hope that it will not.

All racists (most white Americans) should read this book and hang their heads.

La Causa: The California Grape Strike. By George D. Horwitz. Photographs by Paul Fusco. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1970. 160 pp., illus. Introduction by Cesar Chavez. \$3.95 paper, \$7.95 hardbound.)

Reviewed by T. H. WATKINS, former editor and currently associate editor of The American West magazine, and the author of two recently-published books—Gold and Silver in the West: The Illustrated History of an American Dream and The Water Hustlers.

La Causa is a compelling and often moving testament to the strength and durability of a dream which some segments of California's population consider an outrageous nightmare: those *Chicanos*, those anonymous *greasers* who have quietly worked the gargantuan fields of California's agri-industry for two generations have become visible. Not only visible, but vocal. Not only vocal, but demanding. Standing up from their short-handled hoes (graciously supplied by the industry on the theory that Mexicans do their best work in a stooped position, since, as ex-Senator George Murphy once explained it, "They're built closer to the ground"), they have organized a union and are demanding a decent slice of the American pie. Astonishing! It's enough to make the ghost of Philip Bancroft spin like a dervish. What is worse, they're winning—they haven't won, but they're winning.

If anyone seeks to know *why* they're winning, they could do worse than start with a reading of *La Causa*. The text by George D. Horwitz is brief, and is in no sense a history of the farm worker movement; it is, rather, an evocation of the movement's spiritual core, an essay on the kind of people who are the source of its strength and durability. They are people he knows, people he has lived with, people he cares about: George, a sixty-six year-old Filipino; Marcario, a Mexican-Apache born in Indio in 1933; Amalia, an activist college student; and Pancho, who styles himself a professional troublemaker. With these four life-styles as his framework, Horwitz blends a collection of interviews, observations, impressions, and his own attitudes toward it all into a mosaic of personal journalism that is supremely effective. Cesar Chavez, the heart of the movement, is not ignored (in fact, unannotated photographs of him appear like icons throughout the basic text), but it is the lower echelons of the movement that Horwitz examines, for it is here that the whole thing is made to *work*.

The photographic essays by Paul Fusco complement the impressionistic thrust of the text in an uncommonly successful balance. If the pictures bear a sometimes startling resemblance to the migrant-worker photographs Dorothea Lange took thirty-five years ago, it should serve to remind us how little we have progressed in the midst of all the Progress around us.

Objectivity? Forget it. Neither Horwitz nor Fusco consider the point relevant. In the face of the conventional wisdom that maintains there are two sides to every question, they probably would be inclined to answer as an editor friend of mine once answered: "Right. There *are* two sides: a right side and a wrong side." *La Causa* documents the right side. Buy it.

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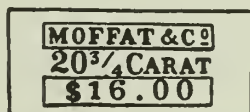
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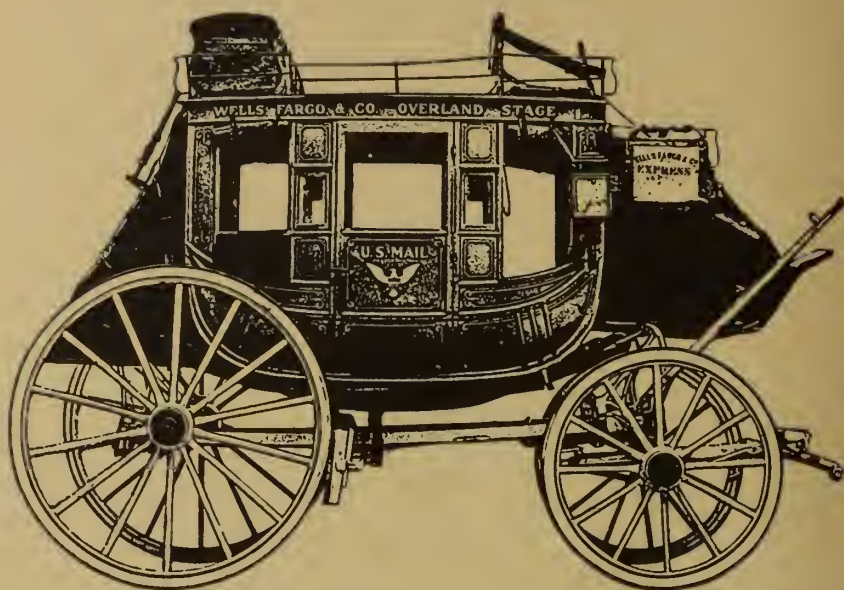
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COVER: One of the conditions for gaining a land grant in Spanish or Mexican California was preparation of a *diseño* outlining the boundaries of the lands sought. Our cover shows one of these lively rustic documents, in this case the map of Rancho Roblar de la Miseria, a tract of over 16,000 acres stretching from present-day Petaluma almost to Sebastopol, granted to Juan Padilla in the spring of 1846. Padilla was the officer whose men captured and executed Thomas Cowie and George Fowler not far from the *rancho* during the Bear Flag excitement. Most of Roblar de la Miseria was later sold to General Vallejo's son-in-law, John B. Frisbee, for \$24,000. In this issue of the *Quarterly*, the distinguished historian Paul Gates places some long-held myths regarding the U.S. confirmation of Mexican grants in California in new perspective.

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James S. Copley, San Diego
Warren R. Howell, San Francisco
Mrs. Irene Simpson Neasham,
San Francisco
Arthur W. Towne, San Francisco
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Charles A. Fracchia, San Francisco
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Rodman W. Paul, Pasadena
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Frank H. Winter

*Historian with the National Air
and Space Museum at the
Smithsonian Institution.
and*

Mitchell R. Sharpe

*Historian with the National
Aeronautics and Space
Administration.*

The California Whaling Rocket and The Men Behind It

A YEAR BEFORE James Marshall struck gold, Captain Thomas Welcome Roys in the bark *Superior*, out of Sag Harbor, New York, became the first American whaler to penetrate the Bering Straits into the Arctic Ocean, discovering vast, new fertile fishing grounds. In a sense, he made a whaling industry in California possible and profitable. Thirty years later, on the last voyage of his career, he was also to introduce the California whaling rocket. Roys was not the originator of the rocket harpoon—the idea dated from the middle of the seventeenth century. However, all earlier attempts to perfect the device had proved unsuccessful.¹

The intriguing story of the *California* whaling rocket literally burst onto the scene in the summer of 1856. Roys was off the Portuguese coast in the bark *William E. Safford*. The vessel had been rigged with a new and powerful harpoon gun of his own invention. In one unfortunate try with the gun, it burst, leaving its creator without his left hand. Though the first mate amputated it on the spot, further medical treatment was necessary for the captain. The *Safford* at once headed to the nearest harbor, Oporto, Portugal.² During his brief convalescence there, Roys first heard of the details of rockets, but not those of the festive species. Apparently, he was told of the fire and bomb missiles launched in great numbers on both sides during the siege of Oporto in 1832-1833 during the Portuguese Civil War. The more he heard of their velocity, light weight, range, and penetration, the more he was led to consider these ancient but crude fireworks ideal for throwing bomb harpoons into whales. He must have been struck most of all by the rocket's lack of recoil, a feature which facilitated its use from a small boat.

On his way from Portugal to England, after being released from medical care, Roys must already have been deeply immersed in working out the details of his invention. No sooner had his ship dropped anchor in British waters than the one-handed captain took out a patent. Not until he reached home, some four years later, did he find either the craftsman, the promoter, or the capitalist to help turn this promising idea into a reality. In Gustavus Adolphus Lilliendahl he found all three. A master pyrotechnist who owned and operated a New York fireworks factory with a curious sideline—a whalebone cutting house—Lilliendahl had amassed a considerable fortune through his talent for business. Probably Roys and Lilliendahl met through the latter's whalebone enterprise, then reaping enormous profits from the sale of bustle and corset stays, coach whips and canes.

Lilliendahl must have foreseen even greater returns through his new partner. His "Excelsior Fireworks Factory," in turning out the propellant and explosives for the harpoon, could harvest not only profit but publicity. In addition, his corseted clients could be regularly supplied with whalebone. Soon the two men were granted a U.S. patent on the whaling rocket.³

In the 1865-1866 whaling season, they set off for the Arctic together to put their new harpoon to the test. Roys commanded the expedition, which was composed of the *Reindeer* of New Bedford, the *Visionary*, and some smaller ships. Headquarters were established at a tiny fishing village on the east coast of Iceland, called Seydisfjord.

While catches went well—40 whales by the end of September, 1866—the expenses of experimentation could hardly be offset. The veteran whaler Roys left for more fertile waters. Lilliendahl remained for a time, until he, too, was forced to leave in deference to impending bankruptcy.⁴

Captain Roys continued to roam. Down the eastern seaboard he sailed, testing and perfecting his whaling rocket where he could. About 1867, he rounded the Horn for the second time in his career and came up the length of the Californias. He must have been especially on the lookout for the California greys which made their annual migration down this coast.

In search for the shy but oil-rich North Pacific bowheads, Roys was compelled to give chase far beyond California. His latest vessel, the steamer *Emmet*, tracked the leviathan's migratory routes to Vancouver Island, British Columbia. The *Emma* and later the ill-fated brig *Byzantium* fished in Canadian waters from 1868 to 1871 with South Georgia Island serving as base. In 1871, the *Byzantium* went aground off British Columbia and was plundered by Indians. Roys' expeditions had not been successful. The North and the vagaries of his rockets had defeated him. In addition, he was not well. In the fall of 1871, he took passage in the lumber ship *Wildwood* for San Francisco.⁵

San Francisco was booming. As one contemporary Canadian observed, San Francisco "was the key to the Pacific." The purchase of Alaska in 1867

had thrown open the Alaskan whaling grounds, and whalers, most of them from New Bedford, the dowager queen of the American whaling ports, had made San Francisco their Pacific base. New Bedford's fleet was being shanghaied west.

While laying over at San Francisco in November, 1871, Roys took his rocket harpoons and rocket guns—"full of difficulties and errors"—to Hawkins & Cantrell's Machine Works on Beale Street. As this firm was equipped to fabricate everything from steam engines to mill and mining rigs, it could easily fill Roys' orders for a new rocket press, mould, and rammers, as well as the steel and brass rocket hardware.⁶ A Mr. O'Brien made the press. Roys also made the acquaintance of another foundryman, a Scottish-born machinist named Hugh Hamilton Lamont. Lamont was to be the middleman in the California whaling rocket story.

Lamont does not seem to have improved nor even to have used the harpoon but to have acted more as its custodian. For, shortly after Roys had docked in San Francisco, the captain had fallen into such debt that he found it necessary to sell to Lamont at least partial patent rights to this and other inventions. On June 17, 1872, the first of at least four contracts was signed. Lamont received a one eighth share of Captain Roys' boat-detaching floats, one eighth for his cartridge shot invention, and one eighth for the rocket guns and harpoons. In addition, O'Brien was to receive compensation of \$75 for making the rocket press and \$300 for the rammers. Another contract was signed June 21, 1876, between the captain and Lamont.⁷

Unable to raise capital for voyages and suffering the effects of a chronic fever, the old sailor went to the warmer climate of San Diego for recovery. Instead, he grew worse and decided to retire even further south, just below the Tropic of Cancer, at the little Mexican fishing town of Mazatlán. He became a pathetic vagrant, quite literally a captain without a ship and a man without a country. On March 29, 1877, at 5 a.m. he died in the home of an American doctor, D. M. Brown, who had found him dazed, ill, and completely destitute. All he possessed were papers identifying him as a "T. W. Roys" and a manuscript "of no intrinsic value."

As no money was found to pay for Roys' burial, Doctor Brown notified the American consulate, E. G. Kelton, who raised the expenses partly out of his own pocket and partly by popular subscription amongst the town's small American community. One writer moralized on learning of Roys' death that he died "from want of exposure [sic] which goes to show that energy, pluck and ambition are not the sole elements of success."⁸

Meanwhile the real entrepreneurs of the California whaling rocket arrived in San Francisco. They were an intriguing pair. John Nelson Fletcher, the senior of the two, was originally from Ohio, having been born there about 1838. He was an itinerant pyrotechnist with a dubious character. For some unknown reason, he had enlisted under the alias "John

Baird" in a Union regiment at the close of the Civil War.⁹ Robert L. Suits, Fletcher's partner in the whaling rocket venture, had been a Confederate soldier. He was born about 1846 in what later was to become High Point, North Carolina. At the age of 15, he began his career as a machinist in a local gunsmith's shop, helping fit locks and assemble guns for the war effort. In May, 1863, he applied to the Superintendent of Armories of the Confederacy for a position as a board and wage workman, but he was refused. When he became of age, late in 1863, he enlisted in Company E, 2nd Battalion, Armory Guard, which was a unit organized for local defense and was composed exclusively of employees of the Arsenal at Fayetteville, North Carolina. Undoubtedly he assembled Fayetteville rifles, pistols, and carbines, an experience that probably served him well when he later undertook the California whaling rocket. Suits' proficiency is evidenced by his rising to the rank of "fifth sergeant."¹⁰ Suits' end-of-service records appear to be non-existent, but on the Union side, Private "John Baird" was mustered out July 12, 1865, at Greensboro, only a dozen miles from High Point.¹¹

Two or three years after the war both men showed up in Baltimore. Both were also married in this city, Suits about 1867 and Fletcher in 1873. Fletcher's bride was 19-year old Lena (or Salena) Suits, Robert L. Suits' young sister. Thus, the former Confederate and Union soldiers became brothers-in-law. Suits worked as a machinist in Baltimore and Fletcher—the name he now returned to—possibly did some work for Baltimore's longtime leading pyrotechnists, John and William Bond. By 1875, however, the Suits and Fletchers again pulled up their tenuous roots and moved to California, settling in San Francisco.¹²

Robert, now skilled in his craft, was hired by the old (by Western standards) Hinckley & Company Fulton Foundry, then located at Frémont and Tehama Streets. Established in 1855, the hallmark of the Fulton works was versatility, their output running the gamut from locomotives to quartz mills and crushers. Among the machinists at Fulton was Hugh Hamilton Lamont.¹³ It is difficult to determine precisely when Lamont broached the subject of the whaling rocket to the new employee, but this certainly must not have been more than a few months after Robert's arrival; for by 1877, the year of Captain Roys' demise a thousand miles to the south, the California whaling rocket was born.

"California" was probably added to the generic name whaling rocket to distinguish it from its predecessor, the Roys-Lilliendahl variety. In James Temple Brown's *The Whale Fishery and Its Appliances* (Washington, D.C., 1883) there is a "California gun harpoon" similarly called to distinguish it from its competitors on a heavy market. So far as we know, with Roys' death and with Lilliendahl's concession shortly turned over to Fletcher, the California brand whaling rocket was without competition.



CALIFORNIA WHALING ROCKET



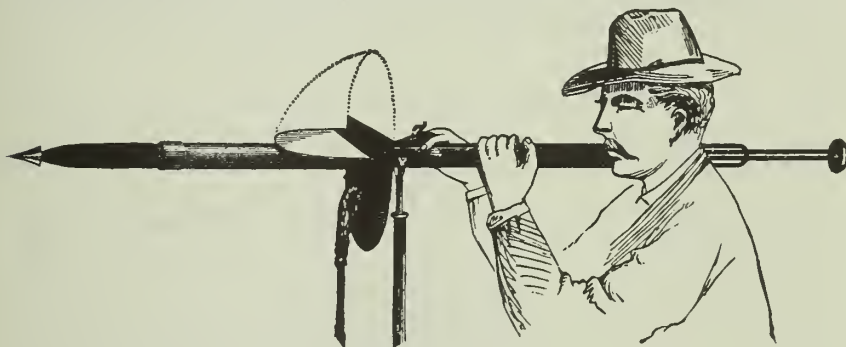
And Patent Bomb Lance,

MADE WITH IMPORTANT ATTACHMENTS AND IMPROVEMENTS BY

FLETCHER, SUITS & CO., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

Our apparatus consists of a gun metal cylinder, filled with a peculiar composition made only by ourselves, to which is attached in front, a bomb with a barbed point; inside the bomb is an explosive charge and a chain toggle, which is released by the bursting of the shell on entering the whale; an iron shaft is attached to the rear end of the rocket, through which the whale line is spliced.

There is absolutely no recoil, and it is fired from the bow of an ordinary whale boat, as illustrated above. The hinged sponge is thrown up by the rocket passing out, protecting the face from injury.



The great value of the CALIFORNIA WHALING ROCKET, as made under our personal supervision, and its success and efficiency in killing and fastening to whales at THIRTY FATHOMS, is fully attested by the following whaling Captains who have witnessed its practical working, have fitted their vessels with them this present season, and who recommend them to all parties interested in the whaling business.

Capt. THOMAS W. WILLIAMS, bark Francis Palmer.

" BERNARD COGAN, bark Rainhow,
" EZRA B. LAHAM, bark Progress,
" FREDERICK A. BARKER, schooner Leo,
" LEWIS H. WILLIAMS, brig Hidalgo.

Capt. EBENEZER F. NYE, bark Mt. Wollaston.

" LEANDER C. OWEN, bark Coral,
" WILLIAM H. KELLEY, bark Dawn,
" JAMES MCKENNA, schooner Alaska,
" JAMES CAUGHILL, schooner Newton Booth.

FLETCHER, SUITS & CO., 407 Front Street, San Francisco, Cal.,

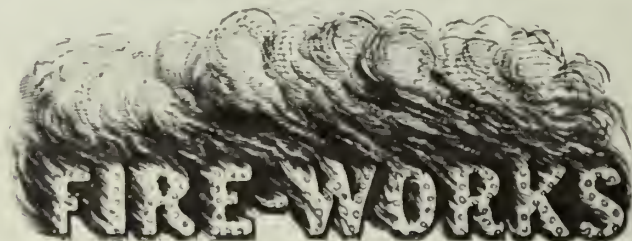
To whom all communications must be addressed.

ALSO FOR SALE AT THIS OFFICE, 8 SOUTH SECOND STREET, NEW BEDFORD.

Courtesy Smithsonian Institution

CHURCH & CO.

THE ONLY MANUFACTURERS OF



IN CALIFORNIA.

407 Front St., San Francisco.

DEALERS IN

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DRIED FRUIT

And Sole Agents on the Pacific Coast for

JULIUS J. WOOD & CO'S

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SOLE AGENTS FOR THE PACIFIC COAST

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John Dwight & Co's Full-Weight Soda and Saleratus.

CASH PAID FOR DRIED FRUIT.

1878

Courtesy Society of California Pioneers

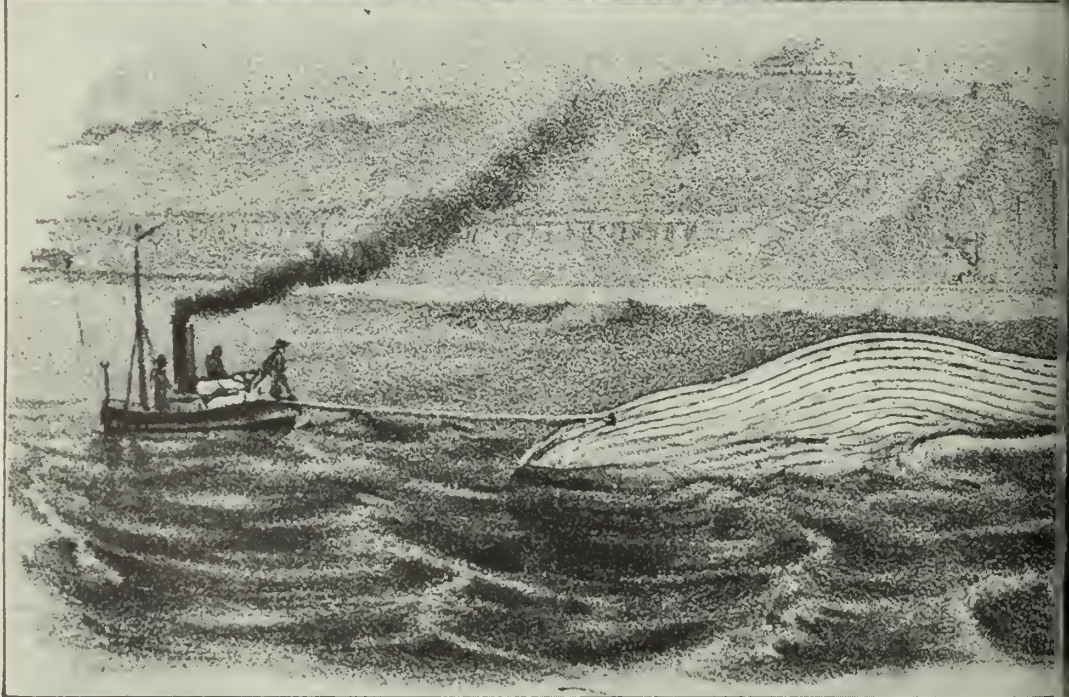
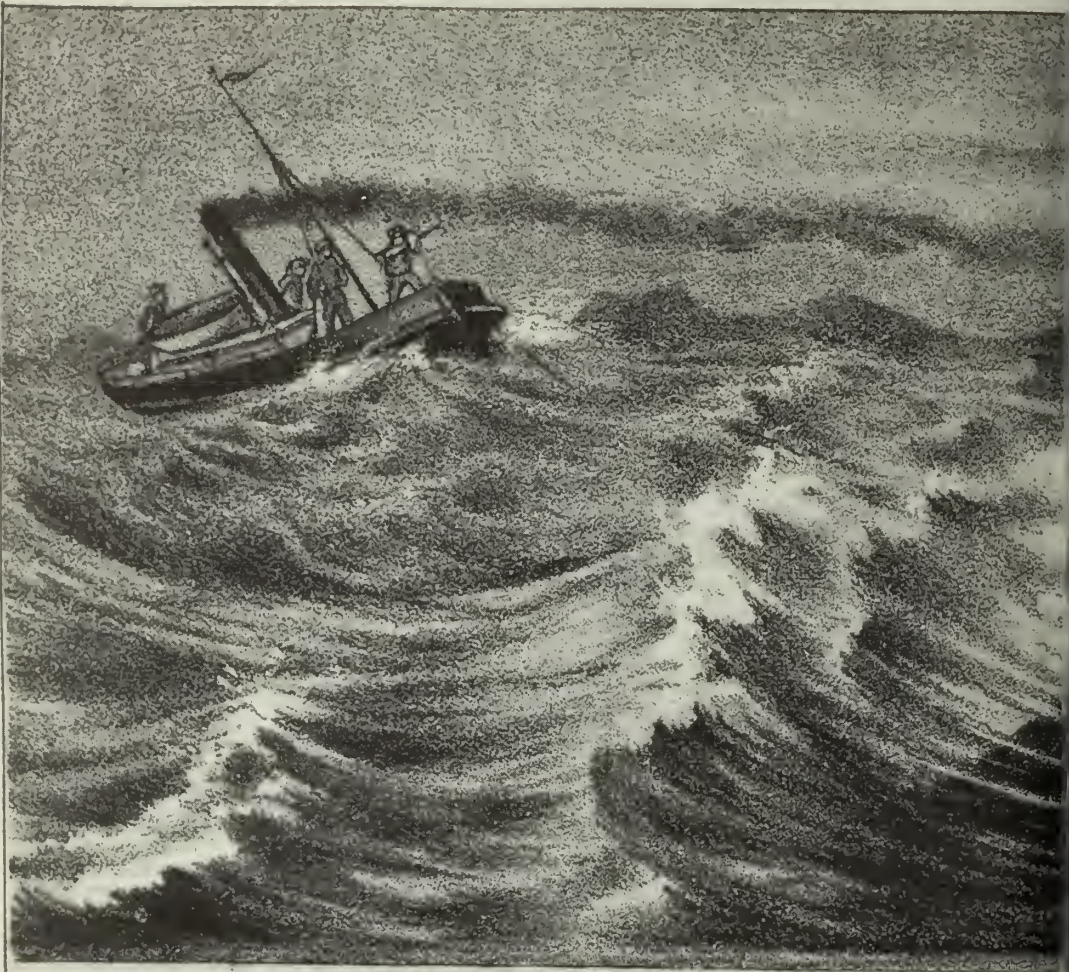
Fletcher, Suits & Co., 407 Front Street, San Francisco, was the sole manufacturer in the country, indeed, perhaps the world. Located at the same address was a curious wholesale-retail grocery known as Church & Co. that literally sold everything from soup to nuts and generally billed itself as "the only manufacturers of fireworks in California." By special agreement with Church, Fletcher added his whaling rocket interest as a subsidiary firm, and called it "The Fletcher, Suits & Co." With a minimum of capital, he overnight moved into a ready-built business. Church & Co. had a particularly well-located sales office. The factory was on Market Street near Seventh with the sales office on Front. Fletcher had in his brother-in-law's talents and experience an equally ready-made asset. It was Robert Suits' job to machine the harpoon's metallic parts and to install the intricate firing mechanism. No doubt he did this while "moonlighting" after hours at the foundry. Hugh Lamont may have been one of the subcontractors.

From 1878, John Fletcher began negotiating with Gustavus Lilliendahl, then of Jersey City, New Jersey, for further manufacturing and patent rights. Interestingly, he reverted back to his alias, John Baird, and was to continue to do so every time he had any connection with New Jersey. By the end of 1878, the harpoon was still known as the Roys & Lilliendahl whaling rocket, though several sets had already been sold to prominent Pacific coast whalers and some glowing testimonials to them had been generated.¹⁴

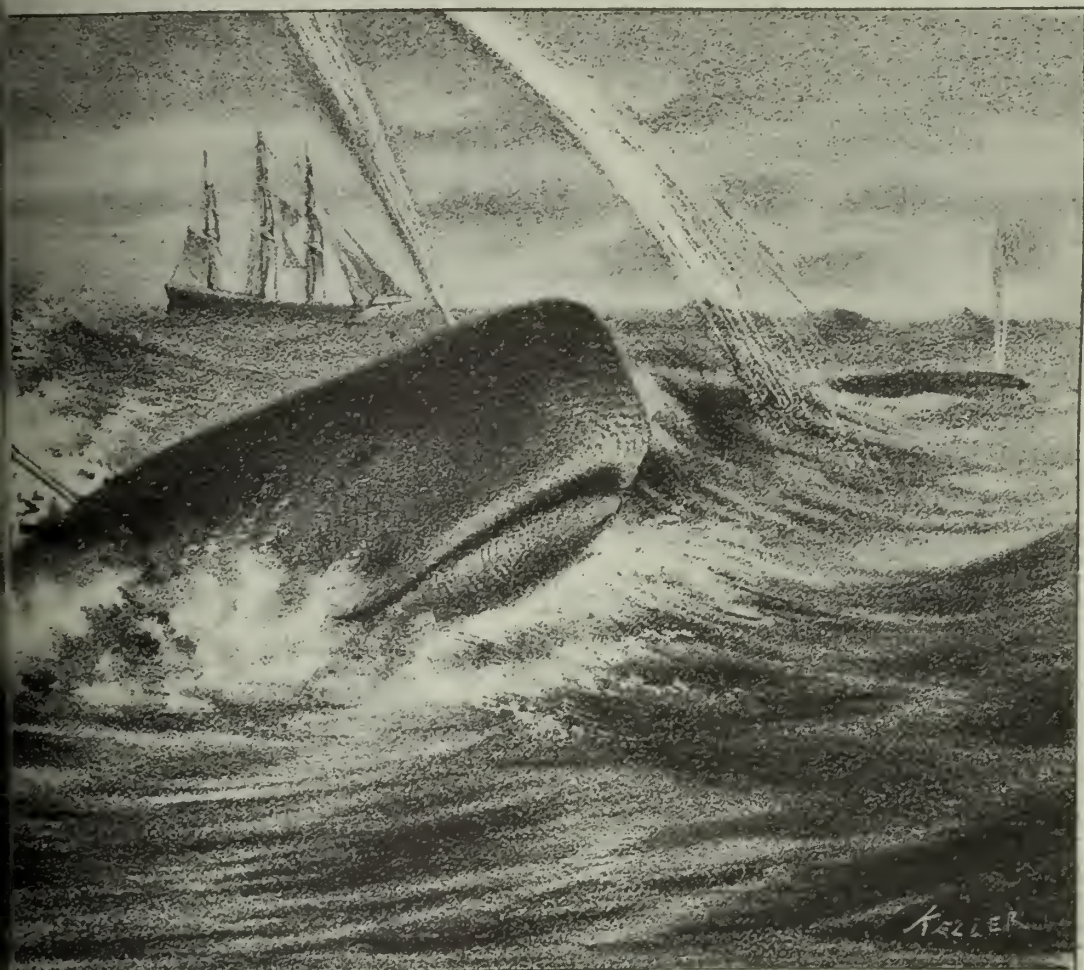
Concurrently with Fletcher's promotion of the rocket, he and Suits strove to eliminate its drawbacks. They were determined to go into mass-production on a cheaper and more profitable basis. Captain Roys and his partner had made the harpoons too light, they found, and they were consequently charged with too little powder. Fletcher and Suits' modifications produced a rocket bomb lance 6½ feet long, weighing 32 pounds; even a cabin boy could operate it. The Church & Co. laboratories also came up with an exclusive, more powerful black powder formula for the improved rocket. Fletcher and Suits began to boast that their harpoon could fasten to a whale at 30 fathoms (130 feet), which was a considerably greater distance than could be reached even by gun lances.¹⁵

The resourceful Fletcher also acquired the use of a small steam launch to ply California coastal waters to test the rockets. This vessel was probably the "small steam propeller" *Rocket*, a five and a half ton boat of San Francisco register. The boat apparently was built and owned by Robert Suits' foundry. Throughout 1878, outside the harbor, the brothers-in-law killed 35 whales with their rocket. These were hump-backs, sulphur bottoms, and fin-backs.¹⁶

Around Christmas of that year they also gave a public trial of the rocket in the Oakland Creek (now the Oakland Estuary) with a tub serving as the victim. Observers were reported highly pleased with the demonstration, one



DRIFT WHALFISHING BY OUR ARTIST.



KELLER



THE ROCKET AND SHELL



WHALES IN SIGHT.

THE WHALE
PORT.

newsman declaring that any of the rockets would easily have killed a whale. "Already some six vessels," he added, "have [been] outfitted with this apparatus for the Arctic, each carrying from five to fifty shots." By 1879, Fletcher and Suits seemed firmly established. In May of that year they began regularly advertising in the *Whalemens Shipping List and Merchant's Transcript* of New Bedford, the American whale fishery's most venerated organ. The publisher and proprietor, Eben P. Raymond, was even induced to serve as an east coast agent for the whaling rocket after witnessing a special trial on Pope's Island.¹⁷

Between 1878 and 1880, at least fifteen whaling barks, brigs, steamers, and schooners out of San Francisco were equipped with the new California whaling rocket. Most of the vessels were New Bedford owned and registered, though San Francisco was almost a permanent home port. Just about all of them fished in the North Pacific and Arctic, principally for the bowheads that calved in the Sea of Okhotsk.

Captain Thomas W. Williams of the famous Williams dynasty of whalers and ship owners out of New Bedford and later, San Francisco, was one of the first to be shown the harpoon and became the largest buyer. He purchased a great number for his vessels, the barks *Francis Palmer*, *Coral*, and *Dawn*, and the brig *Hidalgo*, and "would not go on a whaling voyage without . . . the apparatus."

Another New England man, Captain James Caughill of the schooner *Newton Booth*, was reported to have "been using these rockets down the [California] coast so successfully that he has telegraphed for a new supply of shots." Perhaps a more unequivocal testimonial came from Captain Bernard Cogan of the bark *Rainbow*. Though the inventor of his own improved method of spearing whales—the Cogan breech-loading bomb gun—he was "so favorably impressed" upon seeing a few fired that he ordered "a number of them." Whaling master Ebenezer F. Nye, of the bark *Mount Wollaston*, took out 15 shots and two launchers. And the 44-ton killer boat, the San Francisco steamer *Daisy Whitelaw*, "very successfully" hunted finbacks with them through the Farallon Islands and up to Drake's Bay. She caught an unusually large female specimen during a short Independence Day excursion in 1880, and moored it at the Second Street Wharf for public exhibit prior to oil processing or "trying out." The *Whitelaw's* skipper (Stutzman) and owner (Thomas P. H. Whitelaw) went so far as to advertise their 73 foot, ninety-ton catch in the local papers and charge admission. Similarly, the tiny steamboat *Rocket* took Fletcher, Suits & Co. "bomb rockets" regularly up to the "California Heads" as far as Point Reyes. In one close shot at a sulphur bottom, the harpoon went completely through the whale and burst on the other side.¹⁸

Some were also purchased by the Northwest Whaling Company, or Northwest Trading Company, of Killisnoo Island, near Sitka. They suc-

cessfully captured finbacks and humpbacks, apparently firing the rockets from the deck of the company's small steamer, *Favorite*. Even a ship bearing the Russian flag was "plentifully supplied." Though mastered by a Yankee captain, the steam brig *Siberia* was legally bound to fly the banner of Imperial Russia in order to fish off Vladivostok.¹⁹

For all Fletcher's glowing claims and wide-ranging salesmanship, the California whaling rocket venture was doomed to failure almost as soon as it was launched. By 1880, the whale fishery everywhere was on the decline. Primarily, the industry's death knell was sounded by the sinking of petroleum pumps and the increasing substitution of cheap natural gas or kerosene for whale oil.

California had experienced its "black gold" strike in 1860, thereafter, the state's whale fishery slumped. Sperm oil that once fetched \$2.55 a gallon on the San Francisco market had dropped to 25¢ by Fletcher's day. By 1878, in fact, the same season that saw Fletcher, Suits & Co. exhibit their wares to Barbary Coast whaling masters, the *San Francisco Chronicle* began advertising wholesale dealers of "water white in barrels" (kerosene) and Downer's mineral sperm oil (a petroleum derivative).²⁰

There were also difficulties with the rocket itself. It was far too bulky and expensive. Hand irons cost only 75¢, bomb lances (exclusive of guns) were several dollars, but Fletcher rockets were each as high as \$50. The rocket also remained uncertain, particularly in its ignition. Despite built-in precautions, rocket blasts might also sear whale lines, causing them to part. A more subtle drawback was that veteran mariners were apt to regard the new fangled whaling rocket or anything else so radically innovative with the gravest skepticism and pre-formed prejudice.²¹

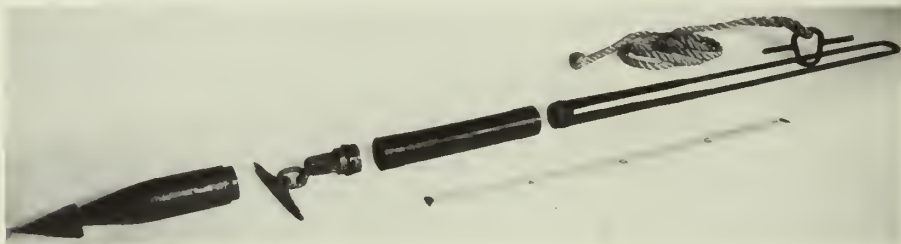
From 1880 on affairs went noticeably worse for Fletcher, Suits & Co. With the dwindling of San Francisco's whaling fleet, Fletcher himself sought to sell his rocket in the whalers' own grounds. He went "whaling, fishing and trading" in Alaska, but met with no success. He badly burned his already rheumatic hands when a deadly mixture of potassium chlorate and sulfur exploded. Probably he was preparing a new rocket bomb lance formula.²²

In 1881, Fletcher did sell at least one rocket. Charles D. Voy, an independently wealthy naturalist, taxidermist, and "capitalist" from New York, bought a repainted, second-hand model for \$16 from Fletcher for the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. It was later displayed in St. Louis in 1904 in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Though the rocket launcher appears to be missing, the harpoon specimen is probably the most complete example of the California whaling rocket extant.²³

Only in 1891 do we hear of any other possible employment of the rocket. Reginald B. Heggarty, Curator of the Melville Whaling Room, New Bedford Free Public Library, first heard of the rocket as a young boy



A specimen of the California Whaling Rocket from the collections of the National Air and Space Museum, Smithsonian Institution. The total weight of the rocket and shell assembly is 28 pounds. The bomb itself weighs 10 pounds. When the bomb exploded, the toggle at the forward end of the rocket tube would prevent the "bomb lance" from pulling free of the whale. The simple "gun" from which it was fired is missing, but shows clearly in the advertisement for the weapon.



when he listened to his father's yarns of his whaling days out of San Francisco in the 1880's and 90's. The father, William Heggarty, seems to have either used or *heard* of the harpoon while whaling on the *Alice Knowles*, captained by Ezra B. Lapham. Years before, Lapham had purchased a rocket for the bark *Progress*. Even if he or his crew no longer used the harpoon, it left a lasting impression.²⁴

Fletcher became foreman of the California Fireworks Co. on Front Street (successors to Church & Co.) by the early 1890's, but there is no evidence that the California whaling rocket survived that late or that it was still for sale. On the contrary, it seems that over a decade earlier the short-lived Fletcher, Suits & Co. had entirely dissolved and that their one product ceased to be manufactured.²⁵

The protagonists in this experiment had gone their separate ways. Lamont stayed in the Bay area and died in Oakland in 1926, at 89. He had remained a machinist, as did Suits, though both were with different foundries. Suits died in San Francisco about 1890.²⁶ The shadowy Mr. Fletcher continued to drift. Sporadically, he mended shoes and also briefly tended bar in a Barbary Coast saloon. By the mid-90's, he permanently settled in the East. In New York City, the amorous "widower" John Nelson Fletcher, who had been separated since 1880 from his wife, married a twenty-year old Hoboken girl.²⁷ The former Lena Suits Fletcher, whom he had never

bothered to divorce, was still living in Oakland at the time.²⁸ From about 1895, as "John Baird," he took up residence in New Jersey and became a flagman with the Central Railroad of New Jersey. On February 20, 1903, he died in Newark and was buried under his alias, his tombstone bearing the inscription: "John Baird—Co. A—9 NJ Inf."²⁹

With the calamitous earthquake and fire that swept San Francisco three years later in 1906, the essential records and buildings of the California whaling rocket, a rare and romantic piece of Californiana, likewise passed into oblivion.

NOTES

1. Arthur C. Watson, *The Long Harpoon* (New Bedford, 1929), 45-50. As early as 1638 the Dutch pyrotechnist Abraham Speeck of Amsterdam fashioned whaling rockets for a well known Dutch whaling master who fired one off Spitzbergen, but it was too heavy to be practical: Municipal Archives of Amsterdam, Notorial Depositions Nos. 1550 (for 1638), 127 and 1280 (for 1639), 153. Roys appears to have been unaware of this and other earlier whaling rockets.

2. National Archives, Record Group (RG) 78, letter of Thomas W. Roys to Lt. Matthew F. Maury, USN, Oct. 9, 1860.

3. *Ibid.*; Arne Odd Johnsen, *Finnmarksfangstens Historie 1864-1905* (Oslo, 1959), I, 75-80; British patent No. 965 for "Rocket Guns," of April 16, 1859 (Communicated by William Walker, Roys' attorney); *Wilson's New York City Directory*, 1858-59, 170, 470; Roys' first U.S. patent was No. 31,190 for "Improved Harpoon-Guns" of Jan. 22, 1861.

4. Johnsen, *Finnmarkspangstens Historie*, 75-80; *Tidskrift For Fishere* (Copenhagen), 2. Arg. 1868, 50-69.

5. The Victoria (B.C.) *Colonist*, July 13, 1868, 3; Oct. 25, 1871, 3; Nov. 22, 1871, 3; San Francisco *Examiner*, Nov. 25, 1871, 4.

6. National Archives, RG 78; U.S. Patent Office, Patent Sale Instruments, Roys and Lamont, June 17, 1872 and June 21, 1876, Liber G-22, 365; *San Francisco Directory* 1872, xcv, 310.

7. Patent Instruments, 365; San Francisco *Examiner*, Dec. 28, 1926, 4; *U.S. Census* 1880, San Francisco, XII.

8. National Archives, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Mazatlán, 1826-1906, IV, Microcopy No. 159, Roll 4; Harry D. Sleight, *The Whale Fishery on Long Island* (Bridgehampton, N.Y., 1931), 144. Letter to the authors, Mrs. Helen M. Gordon, Tom's River, New Jersey, Sept. 2, 1970.

9. National Archives, RG 15, Civil War Pension Claim of John Nelson Fletcher, alias John Baird, Pension No. 116,904; New York City, Office of City Clerk, Certificate of Marriage No. HD 12175-91.

10. Letter from N.C. Dept. of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C., Nov. 12, 1969, to authors; National Archives, Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens or Business Firms, Roll 996, Microcopy 346; National Archives, Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers . . . of North Carolina, Roll 122; Microcopy 270.

11. Fletcher Pension Claim, Letter from N.C.

12. Baltimore Directories, 1867-1872, *passim*; *San Francisco City Directory*, 1875, 974; 1876, 311.

13. S.F. *Directory*, 1875, 439, 696; S.F. *Journal of Commerce*, March 27, 1884, 2.
14. Fletcher Pension Claim; S.F. *Mining & Scientific Press*, (Dec. 28, 1878), 401; XXXVIII (April 5, 1879), 209.
15. *Mining & Scientific Press*, XXXVII, 209.
16. *Ibid.*; Director of Customs, S.F. District, RG 36, *Records of Steam Vessels*, (1875-1898), 27; Customs, *Index of Conveyances of Vessels*, 1877-1892, 212.
17. *Mining & Scientific Press*, XXXVII, 209; New Bedford *Whalemen's Shipping List* (May 13, 1879), I, 2.
18. *Ibid.*; S.F. *Daily Alta*, July 4, 1880, 1, July 10, 1880, 4; S.F. *Examiner* July 10, 1880 2; S.F. *Chronicle* July 10, 1880, 4; *The American Naturalist* (April, 1880), 292-295.
19. *Bulletin of the U.S. National Museum*, No. 27, "Descriptive . . . Report Upon the . . . Fisheries" (Wash., D.C., 1884), 281; Letter from Alaska Historical Library, Juneau, March 2, 1970, to authors; Hare, *Salted Tories*, 57.
20. S.F. *Chronicle*, Oct. 6, 1879, 2; Sept. 23, 1879, 2.
21. Smithsonian Institution, Smithsonian Archives, Official Incoming Correspondence, 1879-1882, C. D. Voys to Spencer F. Baird, Jan. 5, 1881, and Feb. 7, 1881; Interview, F. H. Winter with Reginald B. Heggarty, March 24, 1970, New Bedford, Mass.
22. Fletcher Pension Claim.
23. Smithsonian Institution Archives; Oakland city directories, 1886-1892, *passim*; S.F. *Chronicle*, Aug. 29, 1895, 8, S. I., Accession Card 10081 W. de C. Ravenel, U.S. *Commission of Fish . . . Its Exhibit At the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, Mo., 1904* (Wash., D.C., 1904), 37; What appears to be a partial specimen of a California whaling rocket, possibly one fired on Pope's Island in 1879, exists in the New Bedford Whaling Museum.
24. Heggarty Interview; *Shipping List*.
25. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1894, 555.
26. S.F. Directories, 1876-1890, *passim*; S.F. *Examiner*, Dec. 28, 1926, 4, 5; *Langley's San Francisco Directory*, 1895 1423; Letters from S.F. Dept. of Health, S.F., Sept. 8, 1970, to authors.
27. S.F. *City Directory*, 1881, 361; 1884, 457; 1894, 555; Fletcher Claim, Certificate of Marriage.
28. National Archives, RG 15, Civil War Pension Claim of Mortimer Gilbert, Pension No. WO 997-301. Mortimer Gilbert Claim, S.F. *Chronicle*, Aug. 17, 1924.
29. Fletcher Pension Claim; *Newark City Directory*, 1899, 229; New Jersey Dept. of Health, Trenton, Death Certificate, John Baird, No. 1974; Letter from Fairmount Cemetery Association, Newark, N.J., March 12, 1970, to authors.

PORTRAIT OF A BOOM TOWN

San Diego in the 1880's

by Larry Booth • Roger Olmsted • and Richard F. Pourade



On the eve of the great Southern California land boom of the 1880's, San Diego was still very much Alonzo E. Horton's town. Indeed, the little city of some twenty-five hundred inhabitants might as well have been called "Hortonville"—as was the town in Wisconsin that he had founded at the close of the Mexican War.

When the fifty-four-year-old Horton had stepped ashore on April 15, 1867, New San Diego was nothing but the ragged remains of an abortive city-building venture that had been backed by William Heath Davis in 1850. To Horton, "It seemed the best spot for building a city I ever saw." As for the village (Old Town) that was San Diego proper, Horton allowed that he would not pay five dollars for title to the whole place.

The very day that he landed, Horton gave the county clerk ten dollars to cover the costs of electing a new Board of Trustees, the legal term of the old board having long since expired; and on May 10th, to the amazement and amusement of the populace, he bought at auction 960 acres at the excessive price of 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ c an acre. Included in this purchase was most of what became downtown San Diego.

Alonzo Horton never became a millionaire; the brief Texas and Pacific Railroad boom of 1871-1873 hurt him as much as it helped him (and San Diego). Yet before he was sixty-five he was firmly located in Horton's Addition. In the 'seventies there was Horton's Hall, Horton's Wharf, Horton's Bank Block, Horton's Gardens, Horton's Plaza, and above all, Horton House.

Horton House, "the finest hotel south of San Francisco," was commenced on the first of January, 1870, and opened on October 10th of that year. It boasted 100 guest rooms, twenty of them located on the first floor near the well-appointed dining room for the convenience of invalid health-seekers.



The leader of the band.

. . . J. M. Dodge (second from left) was the cornetist of San Diego's City Guard Band when it toured the cities and whistle-stops of the East in a grand civic booster effort of 1887.



Horton lost his \$125,000 hostelry in foreclosure proceedings during the aftermath of the Texas and Pacific boom, but it carried his name until it was demolished to make way for the forbidding U. S. Grant Hotel that occupies the site today. Horton House is seen below in 1886 or '87; the photographer has set up in a building overlooking Horton's Plaza, and the occasion seems to be one of the regular Sunday afternoon concerts of The City Guard Band.

Where it all started. . . . From the time of its founding, from its mission, hide trade, and early American days, it was obvious that San Diego was destined for some notable future by virtue of its great harbor, one of the few natural ports on a thousand miles of coastline. Skeptics could hardly deny the excellence of the port, but it was painfully easy for them to point out that there was no substantial use for it. Yet the port assured that so long as there was anybody in San Diego to buy, so long as the backcountry supplied gold or hides or produce or anything to sell, then there would be cheap and convenient transportation.

As the boom of the mid-'80's developed, the harbor became a busy place. In the view below a coastal steamer lies at the end of the Pacific Mail Wharf (née Horton's Wharf) at the foot of Fifth Street, just two days from San Francisco. Four lumber schooners lie in the harbor, discharging the timber that it took to build a city. And a sure sign of lively progress (which might escape the modern eye) is visible to the right of the Pacific Coast Steamship Co. warehouses—two





whitewashed bathing tanks (one for either sex) hauled up on the beach for the winter.



Where it all started (2). . . . The prospect of a railroad triggered the little boom of the early '70's; the imminence of a real railroad set the fuse to the big boom of the '80's. And what was the magic of a railroad when coastal freights and passage were reasonable and expeditious? Among other things, The Orient! San Diego was to be the transfer point of a fantastic trade between New York and Canton. Not just folks in San Diego, but supposedly more disinterested people in New York and Boston believed this. And thus it happened that National City (a few miles south of Horton's San Diego) became the western terminus of the great Santa Fe system. The year was 1881 when the Santa Fe started building north from National City to San Diego to Temecula and the main line. Above is National City, Gateway to the Orient.

The big boom flickered to life in an atmosphere of gloom, almost desperation. Frank Kimball, the major proprietor of National City, went East in 1880 to see if there was anything to be done with the nearly dead Texas and Pacific Railroad scheme and to follow up a lead opened the year before—the Santa Fe. The news from San Diego followed him: E. W. Morse wrote, "The people are leaving every day and soon all will be gone who can get away."

The resourceful Kimball badgered the Santa Fe-Atlantic & Pacific Railroad combine (which at the moment seemed checkmated in its search for a tidewater U. S. Pacific Coast terminus by the Southern Pacific) into building to San Diego (precisely, National City) in exchange for 17,000 acres of the local sagebrush, half a hundred town lots, and \$25,000 cash. Kimball later had reason to believe that the Bostonians had got the better of him, but a balanced judgment of the results of his deal leaves the issue in doubt, and it would not be hard

to argue that the San Diego region was much the winner. The road was to run about due north from San Diego to join the main line at Barstow. The first spade of earth was turned on December 20, 1880, and by July of '81 the first train steamed north from National City into San Diego.

It was November 9, 1885, before the first through train from the East came over the tracks to San Diego, but in the meantime the boom had been developing. While the California Southern Railroad (as the Santa Fe subsidiary was known) was building, San Diego began to gather momentum. In 1881 the city chartered a gas company; in 1882 the town got telephones; in 1883 Helen Hunt Jackson was abroad in the district researching *Ramona*; in 1884 W. W. Bowers opened a worthy rival to Horton House with The Florence, which advertised itself as





"really the most exclusive, and the most tony hotel in the city. . . ." In 1886 San Diego joined the most up-to-the-minute cities in the nation in chartering an electric light company. This dubious civic improvement consisted of a series of 110-foot masts surmounted by clusters of a half-dozen arc lamps; fortunately the city treasurer had them doused at midnight, and in later years whenever the moon looked bright.

The picture above looks southwest from the tower of the Pierce-Morse Building at 6th and F Streets. Morse had been one of Alonzo Horton's first converts to the vision of a new San Diego. Now, in the first flush of the big boom, he erected the first really big-city building, a five-story structure that looked a bit like a small version of "Lucky" Baldwin's famous hotel and theater in San Francisco.



The San Diego boom rode the crest of the nineteenth century's wave of technology. Cheap transportation, cheap building materials, instant communication, mass publicity all made possible startling changes in a comparatively quiet place like San Diego, a place which did not seem to have the obvious potential of areas that had previously experienced the more traditional farming or mineral booms. The wedding of publicity and technology is seen (among other places) in the very existence of the photographs on these pages; by the middle 1880's it was possible for an American photographer to pick up his equipment and go out and record everything in sight. John Alexander Sherriff, who is responsible for all of these images of boomtown San Diego, did just this.

Sherriff was from Canada, and had come to San Francisco, where he worked in a photographer's studio, in 1865. He came to San Diego in the doldrum year of 1876, where he set himself up in business by purchasing the studio of C. P. Fessenden. He had already bought San Diego land during the little boom of the early '70's; by 1886, when he was 58 years old, he was thoroughly prepared to profit from the boom as well as to record it. That he did profit considerably is suggested by his sale of the photographic business in 1887. However, the shop would not stay sold, and Sherriff kept taking it back from a series of impecunious buyers. In 1896 (by which time Sherriff listed his occupation

as "capitalist" in the city directory) Herbert Fitch took over the studio and collection. All of the Fitch photographs, including the glass negatives made by Sherriff, were in 1947 purchased by The Union Title and Trust Company (now The Title Insurance and Trust Company of San Diego).

At the right is a portrait of Sherriff, made in his studio around 1880. The other two photos show a couple of the businessmen who on the eve of the boom paid Sherriff for a portrait.







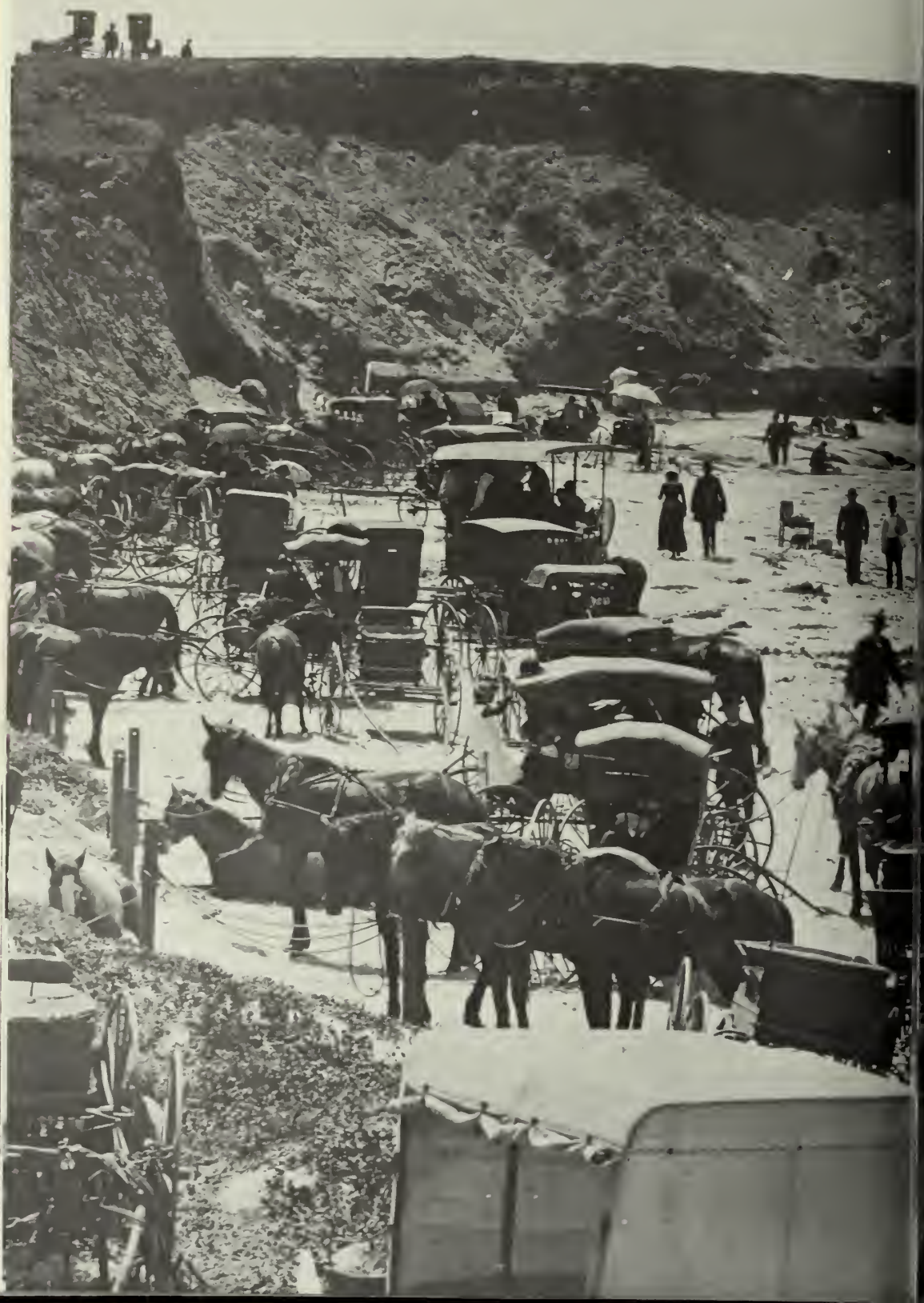
At the height of the boom, in 1887, a real estate ad suggested, "We may say that San Diego has a population of 150,000, only they are not all here yet." Sometimes it seemed that they were. It was observed by reflective boom-watchers that by no means all the buyers of new and choice lots were greenhorns fresh off the Santa Fe; rather, old hands bought in again after they realized that their first "killings" had been mean trades.

When no one could lose by buying, the art of selling was a matter of drawing a crowd. A big barbeque was a standard crowd pleaser. Free transportation for a grand outing was enough in itself to bring out families in an age when most people walked to where they were going. A band of music stirred the spirits—and finally there was the even more stirring music of the auctioneer selling passports to the future. . . .

At the left is a sale at Morena, "A Magnificent Tract . . . From Bay Shore to Mesa," in December, 1887. The bay referred to was False Bay, which became Mission Bay as the result of a contest won by poetess Rose Hartwick Thorpe:

Beyond the bay the city lies
White-walled beneath the azure skies,
So far remote, no sounds of it
Across the peaceful waters flit—
Fair Mission Bay
Now blue, now gray,
Now flushed by sunset's afterglow.

Overleaf is the Sunday crowd at Ocean Beach, probably at the maiden lot sale and mussel roast of April 24, 1887. A thousand people turned out and 22-year-old promoter Billy Carlson sold 2500 lots.







The greatest single promotion of the boom yet was the subdivision of Coronado Island and the construction of the Hotel Coronado, an edifice beside which the standard "first class resort hotels of Southern California's real estate boomers appeared as second class boarding houses. Two Midwesterner health seekers of financial substance Elisha S. Babcock and H. L. Story (seen on the

beach with Alonzo Horton), are said to have gotten the idea of the island development and hotel while hunting rabbits there. They bought all of what is now Coronado and North Island in December of 1885 at the boom-inflated price of \$110,000, incorporated the Coronado Beach Company, and quickly peddled over a million dollars worth of lots. Below, the Coronado Beach Railroad, which carried sightseers and prospective settlers from the ferry landing, pauses on Orange Avenue while passengers contemplate the cameraman and the lonesome little pine seedlings.





Above, desert Coronado waits to bloom.



The key to making Coronado "the best advertised property in the United States" was the hotel. Babcock gave free rein to the fancies of Evansville architects James and Merritt Reid. One of the Reid Brothers' draftsmen later recalled, "The hotel never did seem to stop growing. . . ." It wound up in January, 1888, with 399 rooms (most with fireplace and wall safe). In the dining room, not a single pillar obstructed the view that a thousand guests might have of one another. The army of workmen who built the redwood palace included several hundred Chinese imported from San Francisco, while Boston supplied the hotel staff for the establishment. The official grand opening was on Valentine's Day, 1888—perhaps as good a day as any to identify as the peak, and last gasp, of the big boom.







It is perhaps impossible to separate many of the elements of the boom: publicity brought investors, investment created publicity; the railroad facilitated immigration, increased traffic brought down prices. A struggle between S. P. and Santa Fe to control trade resulted in a rate war that all but removed the expense of coming to Southern California. The \$150 fare from Chicago and St. Louis came down—and then plummeted. On March 6, 1887, fares opened at \$12, dropped to \$6, then to \$4, and by noon stood at one round dollar for the trip to paradise; throughout most of the rest of the year the fare hung around \$25.

The June trains brought 4,755 people to San Diego and the pace jumped to over 5,000 per month through September. The population reached 35,000 and edged toward 40,000—though it is uncertain just what constituted a "population" when more than that *arrived* in a single year. A thousand ships berthed in San Diego during 1887. The price of the kind of business lots that Horton used to give away for civic improvement soared to \$2500 a front foot. By late 1887 it was not unusual for \$200,000 worth of real estate to change hands in a day. During the year property valuation rose from \$4,582,213 to \$13,182,171 and by 1888 city and county assessments together went to \$40,000,000.

Anything seemed not only possible but attainable. With a million-dollar hotel rising at the other end of the track, what reason was there for the proprietor of the Coronado Beach Restaurant to disbelieve that his establishment would soon be one of the celebrated dining rooms of America?

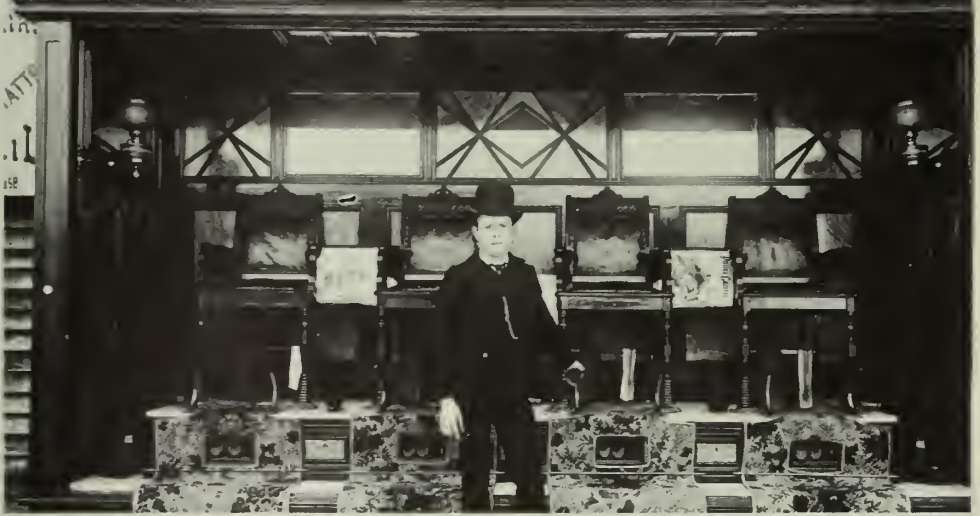




Perhaps the surest sign that boomtown San Diego had really achieved city status was not in population or buildings but in that civic symbol of the '80's, public transportation or "traction." San Diego, with subdivisions opening up on all sides, soon boasted a network of horsecars, "motors" (steam dummies with passenger cars), cable cars, and even electrics. San Francisco had no electric cars. The electric line from the Pacific Coast Steamship wharf to University Heights (where a College of Fine Arts was promised), was a wonderful example of progressive investment, though it was not noted for its reliability.

At the right are signs of good times. It is much to be doubted that San Francisco could boast a sidewalk shoeshine stand to compare with Dugan's Marble Palace. An elegant newsstand might not seem significant—until one reflects that it is a city on the move that wants to know everything that happens, and right now. And "Agricultural Implements" meant a great deal, too—for the rapid development of "the backcountry" was the real foundation of the future.

MARBLE PALACE BOOT BLACK STAND.









an Diegans. . . . Picnicking in large groups (preceding pages) was a favorite family entertainment in San Diego, as in other communities in Victorian America. And more characteristic boomtown entertainments could be found in a profusion that was dismaying to some church-going folk. Elizabeth MacPhail in *The Story of New San Diego* records that there were at the height of the boom 64 grocery stores, 71 saloons, and in the Stingaree district perhaps 20 houses of the sort that did not advertise themselves in the city directories. Gambling, too, was wide open; Wyatt Earp announced himself in the city directory as "capitalist," but he was more familiarly known as a referee at prizefights and as proprietor of three gambling dens. While Earp avoided displaying his most notorious abilities during his San Diego appearance, shootings were no news in the Stingaree. The Last Frontier coincided with the age of the derby hat and the two-dollar pocket pistol.

Below (left) are the town dudes, the founders of the Cuyumaca Club, still a leading San Diego social institution. The school class would be one of the last to learn its ABC's in "the little pink schoolhouse"; in 1888 the impressive B Street school went up on the site, giving San Diego education a properly metropolitan look.





"The Hole in the Wall" saloon, featuring Tom and Jerry night and day and a grocery improbably combined with a tailor shop form a sharply detailed vignette of San Diego in its plank sidewalk days. The poster in the window announces the appearance of E. J. Bishop ("A Laugh in Every Line") at Leach's Opera House, successor to Horton's Hall as the leading theater.

As another improbable contrast we see the watchworks promoted by Frank Kimball in the wilds of Otay, complete with cement sidewalk and assembled technicians. The Otay Watch Works did make some watches—though few enough to make those extant real collectors items.



The meaning of "flea bag" is visually defined in the view of a tent hotel. Though San Diego in 1887 could accommodate perhaps 2000 in its hotels and boarding houses, latecomers had to settle for anything.





he Fourth of July, 1888. . . . Looking north on Fifth Street from E one can see
at the boom has built a city. Yet by the Glorious Fourth of '88, joy was in
usually short supply in San Diego. Thomas J. Hayes, one of the 235 real estate
agents listed in 1888, recalled the times had changed somewhere in the spring
of that year: "I remember that one day we had a big rain, and after it was over
I went downtown. The streets that had been jammed with people . . . seemed
to lack something. The bottom had dropped out of the boom. From whence the
boom came I do not know. . . . It stopped more suddenly by far than it came.
It reversed motion and went down like a chunk of sawed-off wood."
Yet the big boom left a city where there had been only Horton's town. Though
the population dropped in six months' time from around 35,000 to about
10,000, even the reduced population was six times what it had been in 1880.
San Diego was a branch line town of the Santa Fe rather than the Gateway to the
West—but it *was* a city.





When boom days had passed. . . . Water was as important to San Diego as cheap fares, for here was a desert place where brackish wells could hardly meet the demands of a thriving city. The San Diego Flume Company was organized to meet the challenge in 1886, but it was many months after the collapse of the boom when the first water came down the thirty-five miles of flume from Lake Cuyamaca. The importance of this occasion is documented in the photo at the left; here Governor Robert Waterman and Mayor D. C. Reed share the front bench in the first boat to shoot the flume, February 22, 1889. (The ride is said to have been more spectacular than planned.)

Below is a gag shot of Sheriff's suggestive of the desperate humor of post-boom days. The sign is dated December 2, 1888—by which time there was indeed no life in the boom.





If the bust was as dramatic as the boom, it is still important to consider what really was lost. True, millionaires of a day were back where they had started, as was the speculator so thoroughly cleaned out in the crash that even \$500 in hard money had followed his paper millions down the drain. Yet real gains had been made in spite of paper losses. San Diego was all "For Sale"—but there was now something tangible to sell. If the price was low, it was at least a price. When such bubbles as the Coronado Island and hotel promotion burst, there was a John D. Spreckels to pick up the pieces and carry the fortunes of San Diego on to the destiny that Alonzo Horton had dreamed.

The assistance of Mr. James S. Copley and Copley Books in publishing this work is gratefully acknowledged. All photographs courtesy of the Title Insurance and Trust Company of San Diego.

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The California Land Act of 1851

THE CALIFORNIA LAND ACT of March 3, 1851, seemed to mark the final step in transferring to the courts full responsibility for adjudicating claims to land granted by foreign governments in territory later acquired by the United States. It was framed by members of Congress who were familiar with the errors of the past in the adjudication of land claims in Missouri, Illinois, Louisiana, and Florida, particularly the use of influence at various government levels to secure confirmation of doubtful or incomplete grants, and with the crushing burden Congress had carried in considering the thousands of private land claims presented to it. The growing complexity of public affairs and the increasing tendency of Congress to intrude into matters of transportation, education, overseas shipping, rivers and harbors improvements, agriculture, and industry were absorbing the time of members of Congress who could no longer give the detailed attention of the past to private land claims or to the great number of private financial claims that were deluging it.

The California Land Act of 1851, and a similar measure passed in 1855 to transfer to the newly established Court of Claims responsibility for passing upon the many claims growing out of government activities, were both products of conservative coalitions of Whigs and Democrats and were intended to free Congress of the minutia that had absorbed an unconscionable amount of attention by members.¹ Neither bill was a partisan measure nor was the Land Act by any stretch of the imagination an agrarian measure. Unlike so much of the land legislation of the time, it contained no loopholes through which stultification of its provisions could be achieved. Yet this same Act has been the object of more misunderstanding by contemporaries and by historians than almost any legislation affecting public lands. This early distortion was doubtless somewhat responsible for the partial withdrawal by Congress from its transfer of authority to the courts by the enactment of eleven special interest measures which in turn led to intensive lobbying in Washington for numerous other private acts of a similar character.²

In the easygoing days of Mexican California tracts had been granted for cattle ranchos ranging from 4,428 to 133,000 acres, and small residence lots were assigned in what became San Gabriel, San Francisco, and San Jose. The

process of conveying public lands was speeded up after the adoption of the secularization law of 1833 and the recovery of the mission lands. In the last three years of Mexican control 288 grants were made. Among the persons most favored with numerous grants were members of the Abila, Bernal, Carrillo, Castro, de la Guerra, Higuero, Pacheco, Peralta, Pico, Sánchez, and Vallejo families

Just before American control was established, the basis was laid for numerous fraudulent claims; other claims were rushed through before the usual requirements to make them legal could be satisfied. In the last seven months of his service as governor, Pío Pico hastily approved 56 "eleventh hour" grants of one league or more totalling 1,756,000 acres.³ Under Mexican law most of these grants were not complete titles and could be denounced and made invalid because they had not been approved by the assembly, had not been improved and made into operating ranchos, or had been conveyed to others. When California was transferred to the United States by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, residents were allowed to become American citizens or to retain their Mexican citizenship. In either event they were promised that property of every kind "shall be inviolably respected . . . exactly as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States."⁴

Mexican rights were to be interpreted according to Mexican law, not American, and questions of title in equity proceedings were to be judged by Anglo-Saxon law as interpreted by courts holding property rights in the highest regard. No additional rights were to be created in the judicial process but neither were any rights to be diminished.⁵

American control of California and the discovery of gold created a demand for land, the most desirable of which was in private land claims in the coastal valleys and along the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers. Containing nearly 15,000,000 acres, these claims had been scarcely saleable prior to 1846, bringing at the most only a few cents an acre. Now, with the inrush of population, the need for land for crops and for cities, and the likelihood of swiftly rising prices, there was a scramble for land that sent prices to levels that promised large returns to speculators. Efforts were made to provide documentation for incomplete claims, new claims were fabricated, and occupancy concessions were transformed into full possessory claims by the alchemy of sworn testimony. Only by the most intensive investigation of the handwriting, the seals, the quality of the ink and paper on which concessions were made, and the closest examination of the parole testimony was it possible to separate the most cunningly contrived claims from those which were valid.

It was desirable that early action be taken to examine the title of the grants claimed to have been made by the Spanish and Mexican governments in California to segregate them from the public land, that the latter might be opened to settlers. Not one of the land claims had been surveyed, and in most instances boundaries were entirely non-existent. Unfortunately, other ques-

tions intervened, including the admission of California into the Union, the status of slavery in the territory acquired from Mexico, the slave trade in the District of Columbia, the recovery of fugitive slaves in the North, railroad land grants, and the donation of swamp lands to the state. These questions all had higher priority, and, until the Compromise of 1850 was finally achieved, the California land claims had to wait. Nearly five years passed after California was conquered, and three years elapsed after it became a part of the United States, before Congress got around to providing for the adjudication of the land claims. By that time almost a hundred thousand people were roaming over California looking for gold or for land on which to settle. During this long delay the government archives of California were open to interference and falsification by the insertion of antedated documents and tampering with previously filed documents.

The usual procedure for testing claims of land granted by predecessor governments in areas previously acquired by the United States had been to establish boards of land commissioners to pass upon the documentation and verbal testimony presented in support of the claims. Final authority for confirmation or rejection rested with Congress. Owners of questionable or borderline claims were sometimes permitted by Congress to take their cases to the district court with a right of appeal to the Supreme Court. Before 1851 Congress had been burdened with a staggering load of cases. Finding it impossible to give individual attention to 27,000 claims, Congress had resorted to blanket confirmation of claims of 640 acres or less that had been favorably reported by the boards, and later even claims of 1,000 acres, without itself giving any serious consideration to them. It had been the practice, however, to refer the larger claims, and there were many of them, to the Senate and House Committees on Private Land Claims for reports before they came up for confirmation or rejection. These committees had to spend countless hours sifting through the documents and the testimony and had to resist the demands of the attorneys and the unconscionable lobbyists representing the claimants. On occasion Congress defaulted by arbitrarily confirming complete lists approved by the boards; at other times it was quite selective, picking out claims it deemed sound or which had strong political backing. Rejection, however, rarely settled anything for the claimants, especially those claiming one or more square leagues (4,428 acres); they came back, session after session, aided by the ablest lawyers in the country, and lobbied persistently for confirmation. Under this pressure by lawyers, who were often past and even present members of Congress, the committees gave way. For example, a series of questionable Missouri claims that had been rejected over and over again by the boards and by Congress (the last occasion being in 1836), was confirmed in 1858. Congress reversed itself, confirming ten claims for 110,000 acres along with a number of lesser claims, on no more evidence than it had had available earlier.⁶

In the course of handling these thousands of land claims up to 1851 (many were not finally settled for another generation) Congress adopted 138 measures prescribing forms of procedure for the boards, ratifying or rejecting their recommendations, and passed 143 special acts confirming individual claims approved by the boards, either rejecting the negative action of the boards and confirming individual claims or authorizing new trials in the district courts. The whole process was an exhausting one, taking up time that might better have been given to more important measures.⁷ By 1851 experience had shown the advisability of placing the burden of adjudication on the courts rather than on Congress.

The California Land Act of 1851, therefore, marked a major step forward in the adjudication of land claims, for it placed full authority for their final determination in the courts. A Commission of three members appointed by the president was to hear testimony and to study the documents presented by the claimants, and a law agent "skilled in the Spanish and English languages . . . and learned in the law" was to "superintend [*i.e.*, defend] the interests of the United States in the premises. . . ." After due deliberation the Commission was to confirm or reject the claims.⁸ From the decision of the Commission either side could appeal to the district court. Here new evidence could be presented, and the district attorney could contest the Commission's decision if he doubted the authenticity of documents presented, the integrity of the witnesses, or the interpretation of Spanish and Mexican law. If the district attorney was completely satisfied, he could recommend approval of the decisions of the Land Commission or the district court favorable to the claimants and litigation concerning ownership would then halt. Both the government and the claimants had the right of appeal from the decision of the district judge to the Supreme Court, though no new evidence was to be submitted there.

A factor seriously delaying the final settlement of many claims was the careless manner in which owners had handled their titles. Frequently the papers had been lost or destroyed, all requirements for a complete title under Mexican law had not been completed, or claimants delayed in submitting their claims and then they tried to change their original but vaguely defined boundaries to include valuable improvements made by later settlers. Many claims were so devoid of improvements or signs of ownership that immigrants swept over them, selecting sites and building homes without any knowledge that they were on private claims. It was to take years before the last claims were confirmed. By that time some owners or their heirs either had lost their rights through tax delinquency, mortgage foreclosures, or intra-family litigation, or the titles had been fragmented into so many parts as to make division and sale of the land difficult.

With much of the most promising arable land in California included within claims scarcely touched by the hand of man or by his cattle, it be-

hooved the government to appoint men to serve on the Land Commission, as district judges, as government law agents, and as district attorneys who were competent lawyers and who would proceed promptly to California and press forward expeditiously the tremendous task of adjudicating the claims. Unfortunately, all these offices were a part of the patronage system and the quality and integrity of the appointees was not always the highest. Two appointees as district attorneys, Pacificus Ord and Volney Howard, were careless in defending the government title and in at least two instances each acquired an interest in a claim which their duties had recently compelled them to oppose. Judge I. S. K. Ogier in the Southern District was said to be careless about cases, letting them slip by for confirmation without giving them the careful scrutiny that Ogden Hoffman did in the Northern District.⁹ Although all Federal officials in California were paid higher salaries than similar officials in the older states, their income was low compared with those of attorneys drawing fees for representing the claimants. The temptation was great to resign and work with the claimants, and consequently there was a heavy turnover among those holding legal positions. Furthermore, the burden of preparing for the government defense in 813 cases was extraordinarily heavy and perhaps lapses could hardly be avoided. It was only with the emergence of the dangerous Limantour, Bolton, and Palmer claims to much of San Francisco that Congress was induced to make a generous appropriation to send Edwin M. Stanton to provide the defense equal to the best legal aid the attorneys for the claimants were showing.

The heaviest part of the adjudication process had to be done by the court of first instance, the Land Commission. It had to evaluate the original documents in the possession of the grantees and to determine whether they coincided with or were in conflict with those in the archives of the government. It also had to take testimony of witnesses to signatures of officials, and to occupation and improvement of the ranchos, to hear the arguments of the attorneys of the claimants and of the government law agent, and to render a decision knowing that appeals might be taken to two higher courts. The three years (later five) in which the commissioners were to hear the evidence and make their decisions were not quite that long, for the time required for the two sets of commissioners to make the journey from the east coast to San Francisco has to be deducted.¹⁰

Hiland Hall, chairman of the Land Commission, was a Vermont Whig who had gained some experience while in the House of Representatives as chairman of a special House Committee to investigate Revolutionary Land Claims presented by Virginians which he found not deserving of further remedial legislation.¹¹ Hall had been friendly with Millard Fillmore since they served together in the House and was appointed by Fillmore in 1851 Second Comptroller of the Treasury and shortly after was made chairman of the Land Commission. He took with him to California two of his sons as

clerks of the Commission, one of whom died of the "Panama Fever" on his arrival. Harry I. Thornton, the second member of the Commission, had moved from Virginia to Alabama where he became a judge of the supreme court, a member of the Senate, and a supporter of Henry Clay.¹² He may have gained some knowledge of the 448 private land claims Alabamians presented for confirmation, but I have found no evidence that either he or Hiland Hall were familiar with Mexican land law or with the Spanish language. Judge Solomon Heydenfeldt of the state supreme court was quoted in 1852 as saying that Thornton "is a high toned gentleman" and a liberal minded man and "all right," presumably on the claim question.¹³ The third member, James Wilson of New Hampshire, had been in his second term in the House of Representatives in 1850 when he announced his resignation as he was "about to depart for the State of California."¹⁴ He had served as surveyor general for the territory of Iowa from 1841-1845 where he doubtless had familiarized himself with the public land laws and must have learned about the claim of Julian Dubuque for more than 100,000 acres, including the lead bearing land along the Mississippi, and the efforts of the Chouteau family to gain confirmation of it. With a year or more of residence in California when he was appointed to the Commission, he surely had acquired considerable information about the claims, since much of the practice of lawyers at that time revolved around them. However, he was to serve for less than a year before Congress, on a nearly straight party division, rejected his nomination on August 31, possibly because of an anti-slavery speech he had made.¹⁵ The other two Whig appointees were permitted to serve for little more than a year before they were dismissed.

Ignorance of Spanish land law was bad enough, but unfamiliarity with the Spanish language was even worse, and this applied to both Whig commissioners and the Democrats who succeeded them. As a later Surveyor General of California was to say out of the experience he had gained in trying to make up for numerous errors of the commissioners in setting boundaries for the claims: "They were dependent upon such translations as they could obtain of the original title-papers and upon the oral testimony of witnesses produced in support of the same, which oral testimony had to be taken through the media of interpreters. The translations of the original title-papers were generally crude and often positively incorrect, and the correctness of the oral testimony depended on the skill and honesty of the interpreters employed to translate the same." At this late time, 1875, he concluded that their efforts to determine the boundaries had "resulted in interminable conflicts and confusion . . . in the . . . survey of the tracts . . . which are now producing, and will for years to come produce . . . expensive and ruinous litigation."¹⁶

The Whig members of the Commission did not work in complete harmony. Thornton seems to have favored easy and swift confirmation of the

claims and opposed allowing adverse claimants to intervene in the original cases. Hall and Wilson favored allowing adverse parties to intervene, seemed to be somewhat stricter in requiring documentary evidence of the grants, confirmation by the assembly, and testimony on the degree of occupancy. Hall was troubled at Thornton's insistence on delivering long minority decisions, and spoke of the "ignorance, the obstinacy and the absurdity of Judge Thornton," while praising General Wilson as "a first rate man." When Gustavus Henry, an intimate friend of Thornton, was appointed to replace Wilson, Thornton was delighted as he would swing the balance of the Commission toward his own point of view. Thornton was held by the *San Francisco Herald* to be responsible for the "soundness" of the decisions, while law agent George W. Cooley was censured for his "disgraceful attitude." Thornton, more than the other commissioners, was aware that the victory of Pierce in the election of 1853 was sure to be followed by the displacement of the Whig members and that the deadline for filing claims was approaching. He urged the "grave necessity" of claimants pressing forward their claims.¹⁷

Senator John B. Weller of California gave a partisan judgment of the three Whig members of the Commission which should perhaps be somewhat discounted. "They know nothing of the Spanish language. I admit they ought to know it. I believe further, that none of the three land commissioners know anything of the civil law, unless they have picked up a little knowledge of it since their appointment as land commissioners. They were, all three of them, common law lawyers."¹⁸

Pierce dispatched three lame duck Democrats to replace Hall and Thornton and to fill the vacancy left by Wilson's rejection: Alpheus Felch, recently defeated for reelection to the Senate from Michigan, Thompson Campbell, and Robert A. Thomas, representatives from Illinois and Virginia who were not reelected in 1852. The first two were doubtless familiar with public land system, and Felch at least may have known something about the 942 private land claims in Michigan. Whether they were better prepared to deal with the Mexican land claims than their predecessors might be questioned. An early complaint about the decisions of the new members was that they apparently substituted for the principles of equity which had earlier been a controlling factor the tendency to insist on the letter of Mexican law.¹⁹

The result of this change from Whig to Democratic control of the Land Commission and from the emphasis on equity to the more rigid interpretation of Mexican law is reflected in the decision rendered by the two sets of commissioners.²⁰ From January 5, 1852, to April 23, 1853, when news reached San Francisco that new commissioners were to displace the Whigs, 70 claims had been decided, of which 69 were confirmed. The judgment of the commissioners was followed on all but one of the claims which were

appealed to a higher court.²¹ Between April 18, 1853, and October 10, 1854, 325 claims were adjudicated by the new Commission, 223 being confirmed and 102 rejected.²² Such a large difference in the leaning of the two groups of commissioners bears out the *Alta California* criticisms and the views of other Californians that the new members were tightening up requirements for confirmation.²³ It should be said, however, that the Whig Commissioners in their efforts to show progress because of the criticism of their slowness, seemed to have selected claims that could be easily decided favorably. Many of the 68 were never taken beyond the Commission.

Meantime, Wilson, Hall, and Thornton turned their attention to law practice in the defense of the claims against the government. Wilson became the attorney for the Larkin and Limantour claims, Hall for a time was "consultant" with Halleck, Peachy & Billings, and Thornton became one of the most active attorneys pressing for confirmation of the claims. After his service was over, Felch likewise became involved in title questions in California.²⁴

With 813 claims to be considered within the three years allowed by the Land Act, a period later extended to five years, it must have been apparent at the outset that those claims well supported by documents and showing clear evidence of occupation and improvement would be easily confirmed. In fact 209 claims were carried no farther than the Land Commission, whose confirmation or rejection was final as no appeal was taken by either side. Of these 209 claims, 84 were confirmed though boundary questions might further delay the patent. Under the earlier procedure these 84 claimants might have had to carry their appeals to Congress for final confirmation with all the trouble and expense involved in winning favorable action by both branches of Congress. Owners of 125 claims rejected by the Land Commission because fraud had been detected, because they overlapped other claims, because they were shown to be mere occupancy rights, or because they lacked reliable parole testimony accepted the inevitable and urged their rights no further.²⁵

Much has been made of the necessity of the claimants to carry their cases to the district court and even to the Supreme Court. It is true, the majority of the claims were taken to District Judges Ogden Hoffman and I. S. K. Ogier. Ogier was well known to take a highly favorable attitude toward the claimants. Challenges by the district attorney were weak, if they were made at all, before Black became Attorney General in 1857; and Hoffman leaned strongly toward the claimants because of his overwhelming concern for the Supreme Court decision in the Frémont case in which he had been overruled. The fees of attorneys for the claimants in cases in the district courts should have been modest before Black became Attorney General and Stanton was placed in charge of the government defense of claims in San Francisco.

The early laxity of the district attorneys, Ogier's bias in favor of the grantees, and Hoffman's hasty consideration of the negative issues involved in the land claims led to the confirmation of highly questionable claims, partly because of over dependence on the Frémont decision and partly because Hoffman seemed quite willing to confirm with the understanding that the Supreme Court would pass upon the delicate questions he wished to avoid. Some of his early favorable decisions were not challenged, appeal was dismissed, and the titles confirmed.

A case in point is the floating Arroyo Seco claim of Andrés Pico to be located within 50 leagues of Sacramento, Amador, and San Joaquin Counties. It was granted to Teodocio Yorba in 1840 and was said to be occupied by 1848, though at least some of the witnesses as to occupation had a bad record for falsely testifying. After rejection by the Land Commission the claimants appealed to the district court where "the case had been submitted without argument on the part of the United States or the suggestion of any other objections to its validity." Hoffman was thus left to work his way through the legal entanglements without help from the district attorney, who should have prepared himself to aid in deciding the case. Lacking evidence of confirmation by the assembly and proof of continued occupation, Hoffman approached the claim by showing that Mexico had done nothing to denounce or regrant the land, and for the United States to reject it now would be tantamount to a destruction of a vested interest and a major equity. The Frémont case compelled him to confirm it. Having failed to make an argument against it before the district court, the district attorney, apparently with the approval of the Attorney General, allowed the claim to be dismissed without further appeal, thus assuring patent when the survey was completed. Yet a later memorial of the California legislature declared that the grant had been unknown to settlers who had moved upon it between 1849-1856, that the settlers maintained it to be an antedated grant, and the California legislature called for a Congressional examination of the claim. However, the patent had been issued in 1863. Again a questionable claim, or at least one against which there were grounds for dismissal, had been confirmed.²⁶

Virtual default by the district attorney was also responsible for the confirmation and patenting of the *Ranchería del Rio Estanislao* of 48,886 acres. Confirmed by the Land Commission and not effectively challenged by the district attorney before Judge Hoffman, the grant was confirmed by Hoffman even though the signatures of the governor and the secretary to the grant were "suspicious," the grant was sealed with the questionable Limantour seal, and another vital document had been lost. With the approval of the Attorney General the appeal was dismissed in 1857, and the patent issued in 1863. Before then, evidence was brought forward showing that the documents were forged and that there was no justification for the confir-

mation of the grant, but it was too late to reopen it. Laxity of the government attorneys and Hoffman's disinclination to reject claims where there seemed any evidence to confirm them produced another serious blunder.

With the appointment of Jeremiaah Sullivan Black as Attorney General by President Buchanan, and Black's selection of Edwin M. Stanton as principal attorney for the defense of the United States interests in California claims, the picture changed overnight. The Frémont case lost most of its precedent-making significance, and the Supreme Court was persuaded to look much more critically at the supporting evidence. With either Black or Stanton carrying the government defense before the Supreme Court, Hoffman was reversed in 21 cases, and on one he was reversed twice. Some of the reversals were based on somewhat technical grounds, but others were founded on clear evidence of fraud, perjury, fabrication, antedated and otherwise spurious documents, and the employment of "professional witnesses" of standing who were extremely careless in the testimony they gave.²⁷

Cases were carried to the Supreme Court either because of rejection by the lower courts or on appeal by the United States because of prior confirmation. One hundred eleven cases involving land claims reached the Supreme Court, but this number represents many fewer individual cases because some of them were before the Court two, three, and four times. The Panoche Grande case was before the Court on four occasions, the White-Miranda claim three times, and some fifteen claims were there not for title but for boundary questions, such as quantity of land to be included or other technical matters after ownership had been determined. Less than one eighth of the claims ever reached the high court. The Supreme Court leaned so far in the direction of leniency in the precedent making Frémont-Mariposa decisions of 1854 and 1855 and again after the appointment of Justice Field in 1863 that a reading of the decisions leaves one with the feeling that the greatest readiness was shown by the court to accept any substantial evidence in the records of the intent of Mexican officials to make the grants. Furthermore, as may be seen below, buyers of the claims later found to be defective were subsequently permitted to purchase them from the government at the privileged preemption price of \$1.25 an acre. True, there were some hardship cases owing to the discovery of fraud, forgery, deception, and plain misunderstanding, but surely Mariano G. Vallejo's patents to 68,486 acres and John Sutter's patent to 48,839 acres, if properly managed, were sufficient to keep them from poverty. If not, what amount would have accomplished that object?

The Act of 1851 was not "in reality a violation of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo," nor was it "an instrument of evil" or a "devil's instrument." There was no such thing as "needless persecution of the grant holders" by the Attorney General and the courts, and it was not the Land Acts which

"stripped" from the California rancheros their property. Neither were the claimants "considered guilty until they had proved them innocent." Bancroft's "spoilation of the grant-holders" is sheer nonsense, and his insistence that "it would have been infinitely better to confirm promptly all the claims, both valid and fraudulent" is evidence of the unreasoned and unjust condemnation of the land law which so long characterized elite California opinion.²⁸

Such irrational denunciation of the Land Act of 1851 and of the subsequent history of adjudication under it reveals an astonishing failure to appreciate the careful protection Anglo-Saxon-American law has given private property. From the days of the Founding Fathers through the nineteenth century the legal profession and the courts seem to have been obsessed with this need. Furthermore, it was a California lawyer, Stephen J. Field, a justice of the state's Supreme Court in 1857 and a member of the Supreme Court of the United States from 1863 to 1897, who was to make the Fourteenth Amendment a bulwark against liberal and radical state experiments with limitation upon property rights. More directly pertinent here, it was Field who, in a decision assuring Frémont the sole right to the gold on his Mariposa rancho, disregarded Mexican law which had reserved precious minerals.

Contrary to the clear intention of Mexican law, Field declared:

There is something shocking to all our ideas of the rights of property in the proposition that one may invade the possessions of another, dig up his fields and gardens, cut down his timber and occupy his land, under the pretense that there is gold which he is mining.

In another case he reversed an earlier California interpretation that precious minerals were reserved to the state, holding that the title to them passed with a grant of land.²⁹ Field says Professor McClosky was "most fervently dedicated to judicial protection of the property owner against 'communistic invasions'." While Field was on the bench claim owners surely had the law in their favor.³⁰

From his first appearance on the Supreme Court of the United States, Field, as part of his "crusade" in behalf of property rights, took a strong stand on California land claims. To quote his own words written late in life: "I endeavored, whenever the occasion presented itself, and my associates heartily co-operated with me, to protect the Mexican grantees."³¹ Once a shadowy claim was backed by one or more documents, though not all as many as were required, and some verbal testimony, though not the most reliable or disinterested, he could assume that occupancy and use requirements had been met. Field accepted, without apparent question, testimony of Mexican officials who were proved in other cases to have antedated documents and sworn falsely; he relaxed the practice of requiring full

documentation; he restricted the right of adverse interests to challenge surveys of claims, as provided in the Act of June 14, 1860; he sanctioned the enlargement of a grant resulting from erasure in the papers on the vague and inconsistent testimony of officials responsible for the erasure; he no longer required "cultivation and inhabitance;" and the fact that a man's total grants exceeded eleven square leagues was not permitted to have a bearing with him. Nor could the discovery of later evidence revealing that documents and testimony on which the high court had confirmed a claim were forged, antedated or false, change the original decision. "The decision is no longer open for consideration, whether right or wrong it has become the law of the case. This will not be controverted, . . ." he declared.³² Though Justice David Davis resisted the persistent influence of Field, the latter more commonly carried the court with him, but one may well question how far he was wandering in his interpretation of Mexican land law.³³

It was Field who was looked upon as the "most unrelenting foe" of the settler element,³⁴ but it was the officials of the General Land Office who allowed the many small individual improvements to be included within the claims when they were surveyed, Congress which adopted a number of measures more favorable to large claims than to settlers, and the local courts which allowed ejectment procedures to be used against the settlers. With such a combination against them, it was not difficult to convince the settlers that government was hostile to them and favored the claimants.

A particularly sore point was the fact that the United States had surveyed public land, sold it, given patents, and in several instances subsequently canceled the patents and declared the land to be a part of a Mexican land claim. Perhaps the most flagrant example of this involved the Tolenas grant of three leagues in Solano County, where controversies over ownership of grants and boundaries kept residents in a state of uncertainty for many years.³⁵ Originally rejected by the Land Commission, Tolenas was confirmed by the district court in 1859 and not challenged further. However, patenting was delayed owing to a disagreement over a common boundary and because the claim was essentially a floating grant, entitling the owner to locate three leagues where he wished within a 30 league territory between other claims. A portion of that larger area had been surveyed by the General Land Office on the assumption that it would not be included within Tolenas and had been selected and sold in 1857 by the State of California as part of its 500,000 acre internal improvement grant. Eleven people bought land thus opened to them by the two governments, and over the next eleven years developed their farms, investing sums up to \$31,000 while assuming that their forthcoming patents were evidence of a clear and unquestioned title. But not so in California. J. W. Mandeville, Surveyor General for California, reported in 1860 that a juridical survey or segregation had not been sought either by the government or by the owners

of Tolenas, that the latter had not objected to the survey of the adjacent lands nor to their subdivision into sections and quarter sections, nor to their public sale. He asked the commissioner of the General Land Office if he should now include within the survey of the rancho, as the claimant obviously wanted, the land which had been granted to California and then sold. He also enquired whether improvements should be included of settlers who had filed their declaratory statements for preemption.³⁶ J. F. Armijo, owner, insisted that the improved (and, in eleven instances, patented) land was a part of his claim.

When the survey was finally made, it included all the improved and patented lands of the unfortunate eleven. The heirs received their patent in 1868 and promptly ejected the eleven with the aid of the local court. Efforts to secure redress proved fruitless. The California legislature adopted a concurrent resolution summarizing the facts relating to the eleven and urged Congress to "adjust, settle and fix the losses" sustained by the claimants and to provide for their payment. Responding to the appeal, the Senate Committee on Private Land Claims conceded that "the case . . . is undoubtedly one of great hardship," but declared that the government "was guilty of no fraud," that it did not guarantee its title where it was in conflict with a private land claim, and that all the damaged parties could recover was the amount they had paid for the land, without interest.³⁷

In the Yokaya case involving eight leagues in Mendocino County, Hoffman accepted the explanation for a forged document and confirmed the grant.³⁸ The eleven league *Ranchería del Rio Estanislao* reached Hoffman in 1856, having been confirmed by the Land Commission the previous year. Hoffman found that there was "room for doubt as to the genuineness of the grant," that the signatures of the Mexican officers on the documents presented "a somewhat suspicious appearance," that another needed document had been "lost," and that he had no more testimony than had been presented to the Land Commission. Nevertheless, when the district attorney failed to make an argument in opposition, he deemed it wise to accept the judgment of the commissioners.³⁹ The decision was not appealed and when it was too late to reverse the decision the judge learned that the grant was based on fraud and forgery. It was even sealed with the false "Limantour seal."⁴⁰ The laxity of the district attorney and of the Attorney General were more to blame than was Hoffman, though he must have been mortified when the facts were unearthed.

A second case involving the laxity of the district attorney was responsible for an extremely embarrassing moment for Hoffman when one of his decisions seemed to be quite the reverse of an earlier one. In the Petaluma case involving the fifteen league (66,622 acre) claim of Mariano Vallejo, Hoffman later said that he affirmed the decision of the Land Commission "without examination, and on the statement of the District Attorney in

open Court, that no valid objection to a confirmation existed." However, the grant was four leagues greater than Mexican law permitted in one or more direct grants. Subsequently, the Hartnell-Cosumnes direct grant of eleven leagues came to trial. With Hartnell's direct Todos grant of five leagues, Cosumnes was to have sixteen leagues, or five more than the law allowed. Hoffman followed the Land Commission in reducing the Cosumnes claim to six leagues, though not without considerable discomfiture. That in earlier cases he had confirmed direct grants in excess of eleven leagues, "may possibly be the fact," he said, but now that the issue of eleven leagues maximum for direct grants was raised, he must abide by it. He could only say in extenuation that a part of Petaluma had been granted Vallejo for money advanced the government. The inconsistency in the two decisions irked Hartnell's heirs who appealed to the Supreme Court, which managed to find a rationalization for the difficulty without reversing Hoffman.⁴¹ Hartnell's heirs could take comfort, however, from the fact that they had a third claim (Alisal) confirmed and patented to them which, like the other two, was a direct grant to Hartnell and therefore subject to the limitation of eleven leagues. The overrun was 1,640 acres.

California writers have given the impression that the grants made to Mexicans were still held by them when Americans gained control in 1846 or even in 1851 when the Land Commission was established. Actually, Americans, English, Scotch, Irish, Germans, and members of other nationalities had been penetrating California well before 1846. Some of them had married into well established landowning families, and after naturalization had received grants, or they or their children had inherited ranchos originally granted to people of Latin origin.⁴² As a result of twenty-seven of the best known of these mixed marriages (including members of the Alvarado, Bandini, Carrillo, Castro, Cota, Estrada, de la Guerra, Lugo, Martínez, Ortega, Pico, and Vallejo families) 779,643 acres of land were patented to non-Mexican heads of families or their children. Moreover, 133 of the 813 claims presented to the Land Commission had been granted to naturalized citizens. These non-Mexican grantees had 90 claims confirmed to them for 1,552,000 acres in addition to numerous ranchos that came to them through marriage or purchase of Mexican claims. Furthermore, nine claims for 150,250 acres that had been granted to combinations of Mexicans and non-Mexicans were confirmed. That it was not only the "poor" Californians who "suffered" under the Land Act of 1851 is apparent from the fact that 43 claims (for well over 584,000 acres) granted to non-Mexicans were rejected. Best known of these rejected claimants was John Sutter, the Swiss empire builder on the Sacramento who lost his claim for 97,372 acres, but who could take solace in the 48,827 acres for which he received a patent.

It is useful to break down into countries of origin these 133 non-Mexican

original grantees. Thirteen were from England, eleven from Scotland, nine from Ireland, six from Germany, three from France, two each from Denmark, Switzerland, and Canada (including Nova Scotia), and one each from Austria, the Danish West Indies, and Russia. Of the 37 identified Americans (including Larkin's children), nine were from Massachusetts, six from New York, three each from Maine and Kentucky, two each from Connecticut, Missouri, and Ohio, and one each from Indiana, Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Vermont.⁴³

Among the larger of the grants originally given non-Mexicans were the 44,362 acre grant to the children of Thomas O. Larkin, two grants totaling 27,701 acres to Larkin's half brother, John B. R. Cooper, the 48,836 acre Sotoyome to Henry D. Fitch, three grants totaling 137,440 acres in which John Roland presumably had a half interest,⁴⁴ the 35,487 Bodega grant to Stephen Smith, the 48,747 acre grant to William Gulnac in San Joaquin County, three grants to William Hartnell for 73,819 acres, and the Dos Pueblos and San Marcos grants of 51,108 acres in Santa Barbara County to Nicholas A. Den. Two participants in the Bear Flag Revolt had earlier received grants: William Knight, 44,280 acres (which was rejected), and William B. Ide, Barranca Colorado for 17,707 acres in Tehama County.

Other confirmed claims which were to aggravate Californians for years after they were patented were the 19,571 Sausalito claim in Marin County, the 35,541 acre Yokaya rancho in Mendocino and the 48,866 acre Rancheria del Rio Estanislao in Stanislaus and Calaveras Counties. After the Sausalito claim was patented, it was charged that there was no evidence of approval of the grant by the territorial assembly, that Governor Micheltoreno's signature was antedated, that other papers were either fraudulent or imperfect, that the seal was fraudulently used, that the government law agent had withheld information concerning the falseness of a deposition, and that the law agent was later shown to have an interest in the claim, though whether his interest existed at the time the case was presented is not evident.⁴⁵

Non-Mexicans also purchased claims. Long before 1846 they began buying claims and the process was speeded up thereafter. One of the most knowing Californians, an Englishman who had come to California in 1824, was naturalized in 1839, and became influential in lumbering and in writing, observed in 1847 that in less than a year, "many of the most splendid farms in this country, will have to go by the board. All the farmers are, with a very few exceptions, deeply in debt to American merchants. I think I may say without any fear of exceeding the truth, that half a million dollars would scarcely be sufficient to cover their debts. These people have no other means of paying those debts but by the sale of their cattle . . . or their farms. The creditors are already making preparations for the recovery of money due to them by individuals in every part of California; they are appointing attornies [sic], who will act with vigor in the performance of

their obligations, and there is little doubt that many a noble tract of land will have to change its owner under the hammer."⁴⁶ By 1851, 213 claims for considerably over 1,992,000 acres had been conveyed to persons born in the United States, England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, and other European countries. Some had been sold almost as soon as they were granted to persons not entitled to another grant, to unnaturalized residents not entitled to direct grants, or to those who were at odds with the granting authority.⁴⁷ Only by detailed examination of the county records will it be possible to determine what proportion of these early sales were the results of foreclosures.

Summing up, we find that 346 (or 42%) of the claims were presented by non-Mexicans. In addition, a considerable number of claims had either passed to non-Mexicans by 1851 or by the time they were patented, but the litigation was carried in the name of the original grantees. How large this number may be can only be determined by the closest examination. If the Land Act of 1851 acted as "needless persecution of the grant holders" or of Royce's "poor Californians," it bore on Americans and other non-Mexican grantees or assignees with equal severity. Among the "poor Californians" who had one or more of their claims invalidated were such affluent and non-Mexican residents as Thomas O. Larkin, John C. Frémont, Abel Stearns, John Forster, and Nicholas Den.

That numerous Spanish speaking Californios lost their great ranchos or at least the larger part of them in the first generation after American control was established is probably true. Progress meant more intensive use of land. Extension of the land tax assured division, just as it was bringing about more intensive development and sub-division of the bonanza farms of Indiana and Illinois. Litigation was another factor contributing to the breakup of large holdings, not only that involved in the adjudication of the Mexican claims but also court action resulting from intra-family disputes, conflicts with the squatters whose attorneys found numerous flaws in titles long after they were confirmed and patented, and the anxiety of claimants to stretch their ill-defined boundaries to the utmost, thereby involving them in legal conflicts with other owners. Other factors which contributed to the division or loss of lands—such as competitive economic existence in a world increasingly influenced by Yankees, debts to meet gambling and horse racing losses, mortgages carrying one to three percent a month interest, and generally living beyond means—are brought out by Leonard Pitt in *The Decline of the Californios*.

One of the complaints that writers have made against the Act of 1851 and its process of examining titles to Mexican land claims in California is that it was responsible for long delays in gaining final confirmation and titles. Actually, claimants were responsible for much of the delay by attempting to include not originally thought of as within their boundaries

and later made valuable by the improvements of the settlers. They also caused delay by their disinclination to press forward title proceedings, because, until they were completed and the boundaries finally determined, the owners could exact rents from farm land they ultimately would lose. The *San Francisco Bulletin* of October 1, 1879, charged that the claim holders had such a strong interest adverse to final surveys that they evaded the law for years.

Members of Congress were not entirely satisfied with the decision they made in 1851 to surrender all share in decision-making respecting the validity of the claims in California, nor, in fact, were the claimants who lost out in the courts. Though the past handling of the land claims had been enormously costly in time of members of the Senate and House Committees on Private Land Claims, it had given congressmen an opportunity to render valuable favors in exchange for other favors to them or their constituents. With the past experience in taking dubious claims to Congress, the California claimants were not ready to accept the finality of the Act of 1851 with its statement that claims not filed for consideration within two years from March 3, 1851, would be outlawed or that the decision of the Supreme Court was the last step beyond which there was no further appeal. Before long it was reported that the halls of Congress were swarming with lobbyists seeking special favors to apply to California land claims. Notwithstanding the desire of many members of Congress to abide by the Act of 1851, Congress adopted a series of special acts: (1) to allow either late consideration or reconsideration by the district courts of rejected claims; (2) to permit purchasers of claimants' titles which had been rejected to repurchase their tracts from the government at \$1.25 an acre; (3) to grant land office scrip to a claimant whose land had been sold on the assumption that two rejections by the Supreme Court should be final; and (4) to confirm a claim which had never been judicially considered.⁴⁸

The first step taken by Congress granting additional time to owners of land claims was an act of February 23, 1854, giving to Henry C. Boggs and eight other individual partnerships the privilege of submitting their claims to tracts in Salvador Vallejo's Entre Napa rancho in Napa County. Vallejo had shown much enterprise in selling portions of his Napa ranchos to more than 50 persons. When the Commission began to function there were 43 subdivisions presented for confirmation of which 12 had been patented by 1880. Included were 8,365 acres for Otto Frank and 3,178 for Vallejo. An attorney for nine small claims ranging from 50 to 348 acres, having been ill with smallpox just at the time he had completed his briefing of the cases for presentation, persuaded Congress to give him an additional six months in which he could take them to the Commission even though the courts, with some uncertainty and inconsistency, had endeavored to establish that the original grantee or his assignee before subdivision should bring the action

for confirmation and not the many owners of subdivisions. Doubtless the overburdened members of the Commission and the District Judge were not happy at the additional work load, but Congress's will was of course law. None of the claims was patented or confirmed by 1880, so we may assume that the titles were defective.⁴⁹

In 1854 Congress interfered a second time in the adjudication by the courts of the many cases before them and with results no more successful, except perhaps to increase lawyers' fees. José de la Rose, a protégé and dependent of Mariano Vallejo, who had long been without substantial resources, came forth, after the time for presenting claims to the Commission had passed, with a claim for 270,000 acres in Solano County. It was alleged that the claim had been given to him by the governor in the last year of Mexican control. The tract being barren of improvements and with no apparent claimant, the General Land Office had surveyed five townships and had allowed over 100 settlers to enter their preemption claims. Improvements worth up to \$4,500 had been put upon these 160 acre tracts. A claim of such size in Solano County, no matter how dubious, was certain to attract lawyers and it was taken up by Calhoun Benham, who had been the district attorney in California (1851-1853) when Franklin Pierce displaced him by a Democrat.

A private bill was introduced in Congress to allow de la Rose or his assignee, the Luco family, to submit their claim, despite the deadline, the excuse being that de la Rose's wife had abandoned him for Mexico, taking all the papers with her. In the usual hurly-burly session every member of Congress has a bundle of special measures which with good sponsorship may easily be slipped through without discussion, as was the Luco Act. However, this act stirred up a hornet's nest in Solano County. A settler's paper called it the "Luco Swindle," and denounced the commissioner of the General Land Office for withdrawing from further sale all the land within the claimed areas.⁵⁰ Settlers asked Congress that should the Luco claim be confirmed it be located only on unsurveyed land which, presumably, was the least desirable. Judge Ogden Hoffman, before whom Ulpine's claim first came for adjudication, rejected it with considerable certainty, and on appeal Judge Grier of the Supreme Court struck it down in a devastating decision. Grier found "not the slightest trace of any such grant" in the Mexican archives. He declared that many of the supporting witnesses, including Mariano Vallejo, had contradicted themselves and each other, that the former Mexican officials who had testified in its behalf had lied, that the varied stories of improvement on the claims were "mere fabrications," and that the supporting documents, signatures, and the seal were antedated, "false and forged. . . ." We may doubt whether an American court ever used stronger language in denouncing the persons responsible for bringing such a wretched case before it.⁵¹

Juan M. Luco, a business man of substance, was not ready to concede defeat. He appealed to an act of 1856 granting purchasers of Mexican claims which had been struck down as invalid the right to purchase from the Government their portion at \$1.25 an acre; he demanded the right to acquire the entire tract, though much of the land had been settled upon, either preempted or homesteaded, and the patents delivered. Fortunately for the settlers the register of the land office found for them, declaring that the law had stipulated continuous possession, and this Luco could not prove.

In 1862 Congress took two more steps interfering with the action of the courts, though one was only to remove a technicality in the way of a patent. The second step was, like that of 1854, to allow a "poor man" who had been badly advised by his attorneys to retry his claim for the two league Posa de San Juan Bautista grant. The Senate Committee on the Judiciary, to which the bill to permit a retrial was referred, presented a report describing the complication into which the claim had fallen because of the ignorance of the Spanish language of the attorneys and held that its rejection by the district court had been on a technicality raised by the district attorney. The committee's report indicated no doubt about the claim. The district court, however, rejected it again and on appeal the Supreme Court could find no basis for the claim. Congressional interference had added to the expenses of the claimant without any return and had caused much hard feeling among the settlers on the Posa de San Juan Bautista who feared for the value of their improvements.⁵²

While holding the title of Commandant General for the Mexican government in Sonoma, Mariano Vallejo massed claims for himself totaling 171,000 acres; however, except for his Petaluma grant, they were incomplete, lacked documentation, or had been granted first to another party who, seven months before the grants were made, actually had conveyed such right as he might gain to Vallejo. Suscol, the largest, including 90,000 acres in Solano and Napa Counties, lacked required documentation, one or more of the documents presented was spurious, verbal testimony was questionable, and the Supreme Court in a five to two decision struck it down. I have told the story of Suscol elsewhere and need only summarize here. Vallejo had sold part of Suscol to others, mostly in large tracts, and some improvements such as fencing had been made. With invalidation by the Supreme Court the entire area became private domain subject to preemption entry according to the Land Act of 1851, and many squatters rushed upon the tract to establish their quarter section claims. In 1863 Congress, under the assumption that the buyers of the Vallejo title were farmers living upon the tract, authorized them to preempt their land to the extent they had "reduced it to possession." Tracts as large as 5,000 acres were thus acquired. The inevitable conflict followed between the Vallejo

buyers, most of whom were non-residents, and the squatters seeking the right to file their 160 acre preemption entries. Ultimately, the courts held for the former, leaving in the wake of their decision a great store of angry feeling.⁵³

In 1864, 1865, and 1866, Congress extended the Suscol principle to buyers of three other defective and invalidated claims in Marin, Alameda, and Yolo Counties, and in the latter year carried the principle farther by allowing buyers of titles of all discredited land claims in California, save those in San Francisco, the right to purchase from the government the land they "possessed."⁵⁴ In doing so Congress and the courts were making a mockery of section 13 of the California Land Act of 1851 which declared that all land in claims which had been finally rejected by the courts "shall be deemed, held, and considered as part of the public domain of the United States" and of course subject to preemption and homestead entry after 1862.

The next step by Congress to interfere with the courts in the adjudication of the land claims in California was in connection with the two conflicting claims in Sonoma County, both of which had been carried to the Supreme Court on two occasions, and failed in confirmation. After years of labor with members of Congress, lobbyists in 1872 succeeded in influencing it to return the better of the two claims to the courts for still another try, even though the land had long since passed into private hands as preemptions on public domain. Instead, however, of regaining the land should the claimants win, as they did, claimants were to be entitled to scrip, (the so called Valentine scrip). It was the most valuable of all the many types of land scrip the government granted, since it could be entered on any unreserved public land on which there was no prior entry.

Having opened to the Miranda-Valentine claimants for San Antonio the prospect of gaining valuable scrip for their claim if the courts approved it, Congress found itself faced with the demands of owners of other rejected claims which had long since been developed by settlers to allow new trials and to give the claimants, if successful, scrip in lieu of land. The best known claims were the Santillan-Bolton and Barron-Philadelphia Land Association claim of the three league Mission Dolores in San Francisco and the 400 league Iturbide claim on the Sacramento. Failure to gain early confirmation led to the abandonment of the hope of recovering city property and the substitution of scrip like that allowed to Valentine in the event the courts held for the title. In the 1870's the House and Senate Committees on Private Land Claims issued seven reports, some favorable and some unfavorable, on the Santillan claim, but Congress was not willing to make further issues of scrip that could be located on the site of old Fort Dearborn, on the Mission Rock in the San Francisco Bay, or on desirable strips of land along Lake Merced.

The annals of Santa Barbara County are replete with controversies over

the confirmation and surveying of the boundaries of a number of ranchos which aroused intense excitement. It was asserted that influence had been used at every level to secure confirmation of the grants and of the surveys of both Los Prietos y Najalayegua and the Ex Mission Buenaventura. The Prietos claim of one and a half to four leagues apparently was regarded as of such slight value and so dubious that no effort was made to take it before the Land Commission. Later, when there seemed a possibility of discovering quicksilver or oil on the claim, it attracted the interest of Thomas A. Scott, President of the Pennsylvania Railroad and a promoter of the Texas and Pacific Railroad. Scott was deeply involved in oil land speculations. Partly for him and for others, Levi Parsons, a somewhat discredited Democratic politician of San Francisco, arranged to buy all or parts of such well known ranchos as Simi, Calleguas, La Colonia, Ojai, San Francisco, Cañada Larga, and Conejo which amounted to 245,000 acres. Other ranchos were leased, bringing the total the two controlled to over 300,000 acres. Prietos also attracted them because of its proximity to Santa Barbara and its mineral prospects.⁵⁶

Before any improvements could be made on Los Prietos it was advisable that the title be cleared. For a powerful businessman like Tom Scott this was not difficult, and in 1866, without any consideration on the floor of either house of Congress, Los Prietos was confirmed, the only Mexican claim so approved without a judicial trial. The next step was to have the boundaries surveyed so as to include the supposed quicksilver and oil bearing land. A government survey was ordered to conform to the "wishes" of the claimants which when completed was found to include 47 leagues (208,742 acres) and to cover numerous preemption claims and portions of the pueblo of Santa Barbara.⁵⁷ News of the survey greatly excited residents of that community and settlers on the lands they thought to be public domain and led to a bitter fight to have Congress repeal the act of confirmation. In defense of their expanded claim the attorneys of Scott and Parsons argued that the confirmatory act of 1866 made a new grant of Prietos and was not subject to the eleven league limitation of the colonization law of Mexico.⁵⁸

George W. Julian, a battle scarred veteran of settlers' rights and opponent of abuses of the land system, declared that the memorial asking confirmation of the grant was a forgery: "the statement of pretended facts embodied in the memorial was entirely false; that, in fact, no such grant existed, the conditions not having been complied with. . . ." He called it a "monstrous conspiracy against justice and decency and the rights of settlers on the lands of the Government. . . ." Julian persuaded the House to approve his measure to repeal the act confirming Los Prietos, but the Senate took no action on the bill.⁵⁹ However, the General Land Office rejected the survey and ordered another to be made, which was approved for 48,728

acres. This seemed to end what W. H. Hutchinson has called "one of the most blatant land fraud cases in the history of California."⁶⁰ Actually the land thieves refused to let go of their enlarged claim. In 1887 they were still urging the Commissioner of the General Land Office to reopen the survey to enable them to gain the 160,000 acres they contended should be included within the grant.⁶¹

Congress was not through with its grant of grace to persons claiming Mexican grants. In 1879 it was sufficiently impressed with the application of assignees of halfbreed Indian claimants, José and Pablo Apis, to authorize them to bring their claim to a two league grant of La Jolla, on one of the most delightful spots in San Diego County, before the District Court of California with a right of appeal to the Supreme Court. In explanation of the bill it was said that the Apis family were Spanish and knew no English, were not aware of the act of 1851 or its two year limitation and indeed their descendants did not know of their delinquency until an attorney called for their deed. This appeared sufficient to Congress to justify enactment without any discussion. However, the explanation did not hold water, for Pablo Apis could read and write, though he probably was not familiar with English, had also been a grantee of Temecula rancho which had been confirmed by the District Court in 1857, and had been patented in 1873, or six years before the relief act of 1879. Had the Apis title been approved by the courts under the act of 1879, that would probably have only marked the beginning of a long struggle for further redress, because the measure was so ineptly phrased as to leave more questions unanswered than answered. No lands were to be confirmed to the Apis family on which there were other antecedent claims, nor would a favorable decision give the confirmees any claim for further compensation by the government, and the Apis descendants were to execute a release to every person claiming property which the decision showed the Apis family once owned.⁶² In the event of victory, Congress would almost surely have been asked for further relief, presumably in the form of scrip, as had been awarded Valentine. Congressional weakness in giving way to attorneys struggling for the approval of claims they represented in this instance did no harm, as events turned out, for the district courts struck down the title which was recognized as valid except that continued possession, as required by the Act of 1879, was not proved.

The surviving manuscripts of Albert & Thomas Dibblee, an outstanding mercantile and shipping firm in San Francisco and sheep raisers in Santa Barbara County enable one to trace their efforts to gain approval of a long neglected private land claim, Las Cruces in Santa Barbara County, though they do not explain why it took so long for the heirs of the original owners and their assignees to commence action. Cruces was adjacent to other ranchos of the Dibblees who saw that it would round out their possession

and permit enlargement of their operations. They acquired an interest in the rancho and in the middle seventies began a move to secure a patent with the aid of the ablest attorneys practicing in Washington, Britton and Gray, Mullan & Hyde, and Smith & Redington. In 1870 the joint holdings of the Dibblees and their partner, Col. W. W. Hollister, ranked with the Flint-Bixby partnership in the sheep business and later in subdividing and retailing the numerous ranchos they had acquired. Included in their holdings were San Julian, Espada, Santa Ana, Gaviota, Salisipuedes, Lompoc, and a part of Cruces, or 122,913 acres. In common with most rancho owners in Santa Barbara County, they had almost constant trouble with squatters who questioned their titles and their boundaries and persisted in carrying their issues to Congress, making it necessary for the rancheros to keep closely in touch with their Washington lawyers. Britton & Gray and Smith & Redington had formerly served in the Land Office and with Mullan & Hyde made use of familiar channels that enabled them to be intimately in touch with every step being taken on claims and to exert powerful pressure against anticipated harmful action. Settlers who were contesting the large Mexican claims thought the officials of the Land Office were strongly inclined to favor the claimants, but Albert Dibblee, in 1871, spoke of the "former hostility toward our Spanish grants" as continuing to govern the department. He was delighted that George Julian, former chairman of the House Committee on Public Lands, had been defeated for reelection but did not take much comfort from the new officials in the Land Office who discredited old monuments and boundaries on the slightest pretext and reduced the grants on the assumption that anyone "owning over 160 acres ought to be hung, drawn & quartered."⁶³

By 1876 the Dibblees and Hollister were pulling wires to induce Congress to allow this claim to Las Cruces to be considered by the District Court of Southern California. They agreed to pay a \$500 fee to win approval of a bill for Cruces and acceptance by the Land Office of the title to Lompoc. Dibblee was massing the support of Ex-Governor Romualdo Pacheco, Pablo and Francisco de la Guerra, Senators Newton Booth and Aaron A. Sargent, Congressman Peter Wigginton, Dr. James L. Ord, and the mayor of Santa Barbara. He was troubled that the Santillan-Mission Dolores claim in San Francisco was revived and pressed upon Congress at this time, fearing that it would bring down the wrath of the residents of that city upon all private land claims.⁶⁴ Thomas Dibblee took himself seriously and in the midst of the campaign to secure the confirmation of Cruces became depressed at the attitude of Zachariah Chandler, Secretary of the Interior who, he said, "must be an Agrarian and a bad man for such a place, either acting in interest of the great R. R. Companies, or bidding for Squatters' votes."⁶⁵ Dibblee also found William A. Piper, a one-term Democratic congressman from California unreliable, being "one of those

fellows who are looking for popularity among the Squatter class, and he does not wish to have them think he is going to favor aristocratic land owners. . . ."⁶⁶

I have observed that new members of Legislative bodies, and new men as Editors and in other capacities, begin with such tendencies, and are under impressions that it is very necessary to curry favor with the Squatter element, but afterwards are very apt to find they have mistaken their interests, and that these Squatters, after all their loud talk, are really insignificant in influence for the advancement of the aspiring Politician.

Dibblee's lobbyists failed to obtain congressional approval for court consideration of the title to Cruces in 1876, possibly because Congress was troubled at the numerous efforts to reopen long since decided ownerships and bored with the conflicts over boundaries of ranchos. Members might well have asked why the Act of 1851 had not succeeded in leaving all such issues to the courts. In addition to the moves to grant a trial for the title of Cruces and to reopen the three league Santillan claim, efforts were being made to provide relief for settlers on Pulgas who had made their improvements on land the claimants managed to have included within their boundaries, to redraw the boundary of the eleven league Laguna de Tache rancho on the Sacramento, to allow a retrial of the 400 league Iturbide claim,⁶⁷ and to cancel the patent to the 942 acre Cañada de Guadalupe y Rodeo Viejo in San Mateo County. Also private measures were being pressed upon Congress that would affect the San Vicente the Warner-Aguas Caliente, and the Richardson-Sausalito ranchos.

Just at the time when Congress was feeling the pressures from lobbyists asking for numerous measures affecting California land claims it was being swamped with other types of claims against the government. As in the 1850's it considered strengthening or supplementing its act of 1855 to handle the many claims which the House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service found so numerous as to be considered "blindly or partially" and ended in "great abuses. . . ." The original act creating the Court of Claims had merely given it advisory authority to pass upon certain types of claims and to send its decision to the Secretary of the Treasury for his approval and then on to the Congress for its final approval. Legislation of 1863 and 1866 had given the Court the right to make final judgment, subject only to review by the Supreme Court, but still limited the kinds of cases over which it had jurisdiction. The House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service now felt that all claims should go to the Court of Claims to avoid the "great abuses" and the "chief source of corruption in Congress," but primarily to rid Congress of another portion of its burden that took members away from its more appropriate legislation. Although intended to apply to money claims, all that the Committee said about the pressure upon Congress was equally pertinent to the handling of private

land claims. Congress had not succeeded in ridding itself of the task of reconsidering land claims the courts had decided upon unfavorably to powerful economic interests.⁶⁸

It was the year the House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service made this report that the Dibblee-Hollister group, picking up where it had failed in 1876 succeeded in getting a favorable report from the Senate Committee on Private Land Claims which held Cruces to be "a perfect grant." As in the Apis case the grantee of Cruces, Miguel Cordero, and his family were pictured as knowing no English, "wholly illiterate," and unaware of the procedures they needed to follow to gain a United States title. Notwithstanding their neglect, their ownership "had been respected by all adjacent settlers . . . to the present day." The lands had been withdrawn from all forms of entry, though by what authority is not evident, and only access to the courts stood between the claimants and the security of a government patent.⁶⁹ The report was followed by favorable action on the bill proposed by the committee, but only after it was amended to protect any rights of settlers previously established on Cruces. The act provided that no more than 8,888 acres were to be approved (and exactly that amount was included in the patent), no lands to which there were any valid preemption or homestead claims were to be included, and the claimants were to execute releases to any persons in possession under preemption of homestead filings. Thomas B. Dibblee regarded this amendment as evidence of the "demagogism" of its author, Senator Aaron A. Sargent of California, which "asserted itself in exhibiting to squatters his extreme care for their rights. . . ." Dibblee scorned Sargent as "a Skunk of a fellow to be United States Senator."⁷⁰ The Dibblee correspondence shows how carefully the principals and their lobbyists executed their plans by alerting Senators Newton Booth of California and LaFayette Grover of Oregon and members of the House Committee on Private Land Claims to the importance of the claim and the need to get it before the courts to avoid conflict with squatters. While the special bill was being pushed to enactment in Washington, Thomas Dibblee was trying to buy up the rights of the nine heirs in California, hoping to secure five of the nine before enactment of the measure.⁷¹

The District court confirmed the grant, and as the government had no right of appeal under the special act as it had under the Act of 1851, the title could not be carried to the Supreme Court. Boundary questions further delayed the issue of the patent and fretted the Dibblees but they were resolved by 1883 and the patent finally issued.

A word should be said about the McGarrahan-Panoche Grande claim including quicksilver mines which notwithstanding rejection by the Supreme Court, the fact that a district attorney had sanctioned its dismissal though he had an interest in it, and other improper relations of owners with

public officials, and the absence of any evidence of a grant, was kept before Congress for 40 years and came very close to gaining special legislation that would have assured confirmation. The claim had been acquired by a corporation with a capitalization of \$5,000,000 which made available liberal expense accounts for its lobbyists to work for confirmation. Its very complicated judicial history enabled its sponsors to make it appear to some members of Congress that an injustice had been done and who therefore were willing to support a move to allow the claim to be carried to the Court of Claims for another consideration. Its ablest defenders in the Senate were Henry M. Teller of Colorado and Eppa Hunton of Virginia, who for years had been the principal lobbyist for the claim but now, as an equally ardent and knowing supporter, made the strongest argument in its favor, after first saying that he no longer was retained by the Company. Persistence seemed to pay off—or was it that Congress concluded after 21 reports of House or Senate committees, some favorable and some unfavorable, the only way to rid itself of the issue was to let it go to court again. In support of the measure Teller remarked about the number of favorable reports the Senate committees had made on the claim but did not mention that all had been made by him. Both houses in 1892 adopted a measure that so controlled the evidence that could be offered as to virtually promise confirmation. Benjamin Harrison was too much of a legalist to accept this and sent the measure back to the Senate with his veto. Amended to remove some of the objections it went to a vote but only after old Justin Smith Morrill of Vermont, troubled about many letters that had come to light showing how the lobbyists had exerted their influence to get favorable action, read sufficient of them to induce enough Senators to change their vote and thereby defeat the enactment over the veto. The History of Panoche Grande offered no support for the view that Congress should have any part in trying claims or in reconsidering action on private land claims decided by the Supreme Court.⁷²

Other efforts were made in Congress to interfere with or set aside decisions by the courts and by officials of the General Land Office respecting surveys, which sometimes did not coincide at all to the maps and descriptions in the Diseños, (crude maps filed with applications for grants) or acreage. In 1887 the Surveyor General for California listed some of the claims which, whether worthy of confirmation or not, had been greatly enlarged by surveyors whose work was not always subject to judicial consideration. Among patented claims which Congress was asked to reconsider and reduce were Muscupiabe (enlarged from one league to 30,144 acres), Lomas de Santiago (granted for four leagues but patented for 47,226 acres), Milpitas (for two leagues but patented for 43,280 acres), Buena Vista in Monterey County (for two leagues but patented for four under two names).⁷³ An issue that greatly delayed the patenting of El Sobrante in

Contra Costa County was the effort of H. W. Carpentier to enlarge an eleven league grant to include 89,000 acres.⁷⁴

One of the most bitterly contested of these efforts to upset a patent involved the Pulgas claim of four leagues in San Mateo County, which had been rushed through the courts, confirmed, and a survey made to include 35,240 acres, or more than twice the amount stipulated in the documents. Sustained efforts to reduce the acreage seemed on the point of success in 1879 when Representatives Peter Wigginton and John K. Luttrell, of California, persuaded the House to approve a measure that would return to the courts the right to adjudicate the erroneous or fraudulent survey of Pulgas that they had never been able to pass upon and to insist that the Supreme Court approval of a four league grant be upheld. The surplus of 17,490 acres that the owners of Pulgas had gained would be returned partly to the public domain and partly to an owner of a neighboring claim. In the course of the debate it was estimated that 600,000 acres were "improperly included within surveys of private land claims in California. . . ." Although approved by a House vote of 103 to 59 the measure was not acted upon by the Senate.⁷⁵

In summary one may say that the Land Act of 1851 was a statesmanlike measure to apply the time-tried system of adjudicating the land claims and to make the courts responsible for the entire process, subject to such aid as the General Land Office might render. In subsequently interfering with that transfer of responsibility, Congress opened Pandora's box, giving an opportunity for the revival of controversies over titles long since patented. At the same time, evidence was piling up that irresponsible law agents and district attorneys had permitted dubious claims to be confirmed, and that the General Land Office had sanctioned the surveys of boundaries which to include settlers' claims had been extended well beyond the outline in the diseños. When government finally recognized how distorted the acreages and boundaries were, it sought without success to recall earlier decisions. That the preponderance of error benefited the claimants seems clear. It was not the Land Act that was responsible for the long and expensive process of adjudicating the claims. Rather it was fraud that made necessary the closest scrutiny of the grants and all the documents and other evidence offered in their behalf and equally close scrutiny of public officials of both the Mexican and American governments in the trials of the claims. It was the anxiety of the claimants to engross the most desirable land, no matter whether their diseños so provided, to enlarge upon the leagues or acreage intended, to insist upon the right to determine with the official surveyor where the lines were to go. It was their disinclination to hasten the final adjudication of their claims and their delay in and litigation over surveying which assured them the use, profits, and rents of lands the courts might take from them either because of the invalidity of their grants or because they were excess lands outside the proper boundaries of their claims.⁷⁶

NOTES

1. 9 *Stat.*, 631 and 10 *Stat.*, 612; *Congressional Globe*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., 114.
 2. I have examined the political maneuvering of those who favored easy and swift confirmation of California land claims, particularly Thomas Hart Benton and John C. Frémont, and the conservative coalition of Whigs and Democrats who preferred to leave to the courts the entire adjudication in "The Adjudication of Spanish-Mexican Land Claims in California," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 21 (May, 1958), 213 ff.
 3. My calculation from Ogden Hoffman, *Report of Land Claims Determined in the United States District Court for the Northern District of California* (San Francisco, 1862), appendix. Notwithstanding some errors and incompleteness the appendix, with its index of ranchos and of claimants and the Table of Land Claims, is a starting point for any analysis of the claims. For the characterization of the "eleventh hour" grants see Hoffman's appended statements to the Cambuston decision in *Federal Cases Comprising Cases Argued in the Circuit and District Courts* . . . XXV, 274.
 4. 9 *U.S. Stat.*, 929-930.
 5. In *United States v. Sutherland*, Justice Robert G. Grier said the United States was bound by treaty and the Court had no discretion "to enlarge or curtail" the grants "to suit our own sense of propriety or defeat just claims. . . ."
 6. Acts of July 4, 1836, and June 2, 1858, 5 *Stat.*, 126 and 11 *Stat.*, 294. On five separate occasions Congressional committees passed upon the Dubuque-Chouteau claim for 148,000 arpents in Missouri-Iowa; four reports were favorable and the fifth was a minority favorable report.
 7. On the adjudication of private land claims in the older states see Henry L. Coles, Jr., "The Confirmation of Foreign Land Titles in Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 38 (October, 1955), 1 ff.; Paul W. Gates, "Private Land Claims in the South," *Journal of Southern History*, 22 (May, 1956), 183 ff.; Paul W. Gates, *History of Public Land Law Development* (Washington, 1968), 87 ff.; Francis Philbrick, *Laws of Indian Territory, 1801-1809*, and *Laws of the Illinois Territory, 1809-1818* (Illinois Historical Collections, vols. 21 and 25, Springfield, Illinois, 1930-1950) in their long introductions contain much information on the adjudication of claims in Indiana and Illinois.
 8. 9 *Stat.*, 631.
 9. Ogier rarely prepared written opinion with citations to legal precedents as did Hoffman, and the basis of his decisions is more difficult to grasp. The inventory of his estate of 1861 showed that he was in debt to Abel Stearns for \$4,250 with interest of 1½% a month. Two of Stearns' ranchos—Laguna for 13,388 acres and Alamitos for 28,027 acres—were confirmed by Ogier in 1856 and 1857. George Cosgrave, *Early California Justice: The History of the United States District Court For the Southern District of California, 1849-1944* (San Francisco, 1948), 33 ff.
- Ogier was also in debt to the amount of \$1,800 to John Parrott, a prominent banker of San Francisco. Pacificus Ord, Federal District Attorney for the Southern District of California, and Ogier were in Washington, urging the Attorney General to allow the dismissal of all land cases confirmed by Ogier. Attorneys of claimants appearing before Ogier early learned that gifts of brandy, sherry, and cigars to him and to Ord eased the path to victory. Parrott to Stearns, June 7, 1861, and Ord to Stearns, September 4, 1856, Stearns MSS., Huntington Library; Frederick Billings to Halleck and Peachy, January 8, and 26, 1857, UCLA.
- The most serious charges against Ogier were not his borrowing from persons

bringing claims before him, his fondness for liquor and acceptance of gifts from attorneys, his absence while lobbying in Washington in behalf of claimants, but were his predilection in favor of claims, his inertia, his unwillingness to write out more than a few of his decisions, his approval of a two league claim without even reading the decree, and his contradictory decrees. Copy of letter of David Jacks, November, 1866, to C. Cole, Huntington Library; *San Francisco Daily Evening Post*, January 8, March 8, and April 20, 1876.

10. Although the three appointments were made in September and October, 1851, the Board did not have a quorum in California until January 5, 1852. *House Reports*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., serial 808, no. 1, p. 2.

11. There is much material on the Virginia land claims and Hall's investigation in the McCullough Foundation, North Bennington, Vermont. See also *House Reports*, 26 Cong., 1 Sess., vol. 2, serial 371, no. 436.

12. William Garrett, *Reminiscences of Public Men in Alabama for Thirty Years* (Atlanta, 1872), 169-170.

13. Letter of J. L. Folsom, administrator of the huge Leidesdorff estate, January, no day, 1852, to A. C. Peachy, Leidesdorff Papers, Huntington Library.

14. *Cong. Globe*, September 11, 1850, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 1776. Fillmore had earlier appointed Joseph R. Ingersoll of Pennsylvania, Austin F. Hopkins of Alabama, and James Harlan of Kentucky as commissioners, but all had declined. *Senate Executive Journals*, 8:310, 315.

15. S. G. Griffin, *History of the Town of Keene* (Keene, New Hampshire, 1904), 664-667; *Senate Executive Journals*, 8:450-451. One Whig from Maryland opposed and the antislavery Democrat from New Hampshire, Hale, supported the nomination. Gustavus Henry of Tennessee was nominated on August 31, 1852, to replace Wilson but declined to serve, and John L. Helm of Kentucky was nominated for the spot on February 14, 1853, but was not confirmed. *Sen. Ex. Journals*, 8:451 and 9:34.

16. James T. Stratton in General Land Office, *Annual Report* (1875), 286.

17. *Organization, Acts and Regulations of the U.S. Land Commissioners for California, with the Opinions of Commissioners Hall and Wilson on the Regulation to Allow Adverse Claimants to Intervene in the Original Cases; and Commissioner Thornton's Opinion Dissenting from that Regulation*, listed in R. E. and R. G. Cowan, *Bibliography of the History of California* (San Francisco, 1933), 374; Hiland Hall, February 14, and 17, 1852, to Trenor Park, Hall-Park-McCullough MSS., John McCullough Mansion, North Bennington; W. J. Eames, October 27, 1852, to Larkin, *Larkin Letters*, IX, 149. Harry J. Thornton, October 25, 1862, to Hall; Joseph P. Thompson, January 15, 1853 to Abel Stearns, Stearns MSS., Huntington Library; *San Francisco Herald*, October 10, 1852.

18. *Cong. Globe*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., July 20, 1852, p. 1852.

19. *Alta California*, September 20, 1852. Campbell resigned after serving for a year and was replaced by Seth B. Farwell of Illinois. *Senate Executive Journal*, IX, 62, 67, 326.

20. *The Californian* of December 24, and 30, 1852, expressed the fear that the confirmation of the Frémont-Mariposa claim by the Commission on December 27, 1852, assured that every claim would be confirmed. The paper called the government law agent Robert Greenhow, a "mere cipher," who was unable to "adduce any evidence of a rebutting or explanatory character," and doubted that with the "pertinacity" with which claims were rushed and the favorable rulings of the Commission any claims would be rejected unless its course were arrested. Greenhow

may not have been an able lawyer, but he was one of the few officials who was familiar with the Spanish language, having been a translator in the Department of State, as well as a prolific writer of histories.

21. Hoffman's summary of the 70th case, which was rejected by the Commission, may be in error for it shows the decision was arrived at in an unusually rapid time. My guess, which I have not been able to confirm, is that the decision in the Temescal case was rendered after the Whigs had left the Commission and that Hoffman made an error in chronology, as he did in more than one instance. A report of the House Committee Public Lands shows that 72 cases had been decided by April 23, 1853, but I cannot reconcile that figure with Hoffman's summaries of each individual land claims. *House Reports*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., serial 808, no. 1, p. 3.

22. I have followed the previously cited *House Report*. Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (4 vols., San Francisco, 1898), iii, 695, summarized the entire work of the Commission as follows: 514 claims confirmed, 280 rejected, 19 discontinued.

23. Larkin said the new board was "very hard" on titles, causing him to look up more witnesses that he had thought necessary. Letter to John Bidwell, October 30, 1853, Bidwell MSS., California State Library.

24. June Barrows, "An American Chronicle" (McCullough Art Gallery, North Bennington, Vermont), 225; George P. Hammond, *The Larkin Papers* (10 vols., Berkeley, California, 1951-1964), ix, 145, 234; Hoffman, *Reports of Land Cases, passim*; [James Wilson] *Claim of Senor Don José Y Limantour to Four Leagues of Land in the County Adjoining and Near the City of San Francisco, California* (San Francisco, 1853). The *Sacramento Bee*, a pro-settler paper, reported on December 6, 1859, that Thomas Browder and James Wilson had been asked to leave Santa Cruz County within three days under penalty of personal chastisement. Browder was charged with searching for defects in titles, purchasing adverse claims for speculative purposes, and blackmailing owners. "This is the meanest business," worse than being a hangman, it declared. By taking up with Limantour, Wilson had incurred the wrath of land owners both in and outside of San Francisco.

25. A number of claims were submitted by attorneys such as Halleck, Jones, Strode, Peachy, and Carpentier to protect their share as fee and were generally not pressed beyond the Commission. A few claims were filed and numbered but were never taken up by the Commission. Still others were not filed before the Land Commission went out of existence and do not appear among the 813.

26. Hoffman, *Reports on Land Cases*, 116-124; *Appendix to Journals of the Senate and Assembly*, 16th Session, 1866, vol. iii. Pico's land agent is reported to have said in 1857 that the lands would not be sold over the heads of settlers but mentioned no price for which they could buy their tracts. *Sacramento Union*, January 21, 1857.

27. Principal reversals were Vallejo-Suscol (60 leagues), Vallejo-Yulupa (3 leagues), Teschemacher-Lupyomi (16 leagues), Sutter (22 leagues), 11 leagues each of Andrés Pico, Henry Cambuston, and José Castro, and the three league Bolton claim in San Francisco. The total acreage in these 21 claims in which the Supreme Court reversed Hoffman is 891,320. This is aside from the influence of Stanton and Black before Hoffman in the district court. In a somewhat bombastic report justifying the large expenditures involved in sending Stanton and James Buchanan, Jr., to the Pacific Coast Black summarized the weaknesses of the claims he and Stanton had persuaded the courts to overthrow. *House Executive Documents*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., vol. 12, serial 1056, no. 84, 30-40. This was printed in full except for the accounting

of funds in *Alta California*, June 30, 1862. Black held both Hoffman and District Attorney Peter Della Torre in high regard but was aware that it was the laxity of former district attorneys which had permitted claims to gain approval of the Commission and the district court. Of Hoffman he said: "The high character of Judge Hoffman, for ability as well as of integrity, entitles every opinion of his to profound respect."

It was in the report just cited (p. 39) that Black complained that the act of May 18, 1858, "for the prevention and punishment of frauds in the land titles in California" had not been enforced "against any of the numerous persons" who had falsely made, altered, forged, or counterfeited documents submitted for land claims or who should submit claims based on such spurious documents. Possibly the punishment for such action—up to ten years in prison and \$10,000 fine—may have deterred prosecution, but Black thought the time would come "when some of the guilty parties should be made to feel the majesty of the Law."

Though compelled to accept Chief Justice Taney's relaxation in the Frémont-Mariposa case of previous requirements in the handling of private land claims, Judge Hoffman was never intellectually convinced of its soundness. When, therefore, in the Cambuston case Justice Samuel Nelson of the Supreme Court rejected his grounds for confirming the claim and remanded the case back to the district court for further consideration, Hoffman, perhaps smarting from the reversal, rendered one of his most careful decisions on land claims. The issues Nelson had raised (61 *U.S. reports* 64) about the claim were easily disposed of, though at considerable length, and he then found for rejection the fact that Henry Cambuston, a Frenchman, had not been naturalized and under Mexican law was not entitled to receive a direct grant from the government. Hoffman appended to his second Cambuston decision a fascinating note indicating his reasons for rejecting the Frémont claim and showing how the Taney decision overturning his position had involved the courts in the greatest of difficulties in separating questionable claims having the least equities from the sounder and more equitable claims. Hoffman was aware, as most writers on California land claims have not been, that Taney's decision permitted the approval of a number of major claims that by previous precedents should have been rejected. For this reason the Frémont decision became "the most important and the leading case on this branch of the law, and has exercised a controlling influence on all subsequent decisions of this court." By 1858 and 1859 that precedent had been greatly weakened under the powerful blows of Attorney General Black and special attorney Edwin M. Stanton, but was to be revived after 1863 by the legal sophistries of Justice Field. For the second Hoffman decision and the note see 25 *Federal Cases Comprising Cases Argued and Determined in the Circuit and District Courts of the United States*, 266-277.

28. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (7 vols., 1888), VI, 576-581; Josiah Royce, *California from the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco* (New York, 1948), 360-383. Robert Glass Cleland, *History of California: The American Period* (New York, 1922), 411-412, and *Cattle on a Thousand Hills: Southern California, 1850-1888* (San Marino, 1951), 40; John Walton Caughey, *California* (Engelwood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1964), 309.

Two recent writers—Andrew F. Rolle, *California* (New York, 1963), and Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios* (Berkeley, 1970), have confused the issues revolving around the Mexican grants. Rolle seems to offer Henry George's indictment of the California grants (which he slightly garbles and attributes to *Progress and Poverty*, published in 1880, when actually it is from George's *Our Land and Land*

Policy, published in 1871) as an alternative to the judicial test of the claims in the Act of 1851. But Rolle did not read his Henry George carefully. George was no advocate of easy confirmation of the full acreage of the claims. He felt that the claimants should have patented to them only the immediate improvements they had made on their claims, which in most cases would have been only the land immediately around their headquarters, if they had any. For the balance of their claims they would be paid a small consideration and the land should become a part of the public domain where it would be open to settlers. George was troubled at the long delay in approving the claims which he blames for the owners not getting "any commensurate benefit" from them. Actually the claimants had full use of all claims, including those subsequently rejected, until the court of last resort had spoken, as he later shows. George did express the usual sympathy for the original claimant because of the delay in gaining patents, but only because he felt that the combination of inadequate capital to develop the land and rising tax burdens would have compelled them to sell to developers.

Pitts' account also shows considerable confusion. He thinks the five years the Land Commission took to adjudicate the 813 cases was "far too long," whereas the facts suggest that more time should have been given to the matter. He fails to recognize that both Larkin and Stearns were misled into taking an interest in dubious and ultimately rejected claims. His chief failure is in assuming that the grants at the time the Land Commission began to function were in the hands of the *Californios* (equated with Mexicans), whereas it is shown herein that 133 were granted to non-Mexicans and 213 originally granted to Mexicans had been conveyed to non-Mexicans. His data on page 118 is hopelessly confused. Another recent writer has even accused Caleb Cushing and Jeremiah Black, successively attorneys general in the southern, pro-slavery dominated administrations of Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan, of being "captivated" by the squatter influence and assuming that "all California titles were spurious." Frank Stanger, *South From San Francisco: San Mateo County, California* (San Mateo, 1963), 48.

29. *Biddle Boggs v. Merced Mining Co.*, and *Moore v. Shaw*, 7 *California Reports*, 328; 14 *California Reports*, 380; and 17 *California Reports*, 199; Robert McCloskey in Leon Friedman and Fred L. Isreal, editors, *The Justices of the United States Supreme Court, 1789-1969, Their Lives and Major Opinions* (4 vols., New York, 1969), II, 1072.

30. In Thompson & West, *History of Santa Barbara & Ventura Counties, California* (Howell-North reprint, 1961), 213, it is stated that Stephen J. Field, then a circuit judge of California, held 521 shares in the San Buenaventura Mission tract of 48,822 acres along with other influential Californians, including Timothy G. Phelps, collector and later one term member of Congress (195 shares), Edward F. Beale, ex-U.S. Surveyor General (300 shares), and Jerry S. Black, ex-U.S. Attorney General (130 shares). A move to have the U.S. Attorney General examine the title of San Buenaventura Mission in the Senate failed of adoption.

31. Stephen J. Field, *Personal Reminiscences of Early Days in California* (New York, 1968), 125.

32. *Alta California*, August 22, 1862.

33. Interestingly, in 1868 Davis delivered an opinion striking down the Roland 11 league claim on the San Joaquin River, with Justices Miller and Field dissenting. A year later Field, with Davis, Clifford, and Swayne dissenting, confirmed the Huecos claim of Roland and Hornsby which, if Field had had his way on the San Joaquin claim, would have given Roland a share of 31 leagues of land. As it was, his

joint right with other parties was confirmed to 20 leagues. In other cases it appears that some justices were reluctant to accept Field's broad interpretation of property rights in land claims. Field's insistence that the claimant had full right to the sole use of the land in his claim, no matter how notoriously defective it was, until the courts rejected it was most resented by land hungry Californians and made him highly unpopular in California.

34. *Sacramento Bee*, July 28, 1857.

35. Paul W. Gates, "California's Embattled Settlers," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLI (June, 1962), 99-130, and "Pre-Henry George Land Welfare in California," *C.H.S.Q.*, XLVI (June, 1967), 121-148.

36. J. W. Mandeville, San Francisco, July 12, 1860, to Joseph S. Wilson, Surveyor General Files, National Archives.

37. *Senate Reports*, 43 Cong., 2 Sess., serial 1632, no. 666; *San Francisco Daily Evening Post*, February 19 and 28, 1876, Helen D. Crystal, "The 'Tolenas' or Armijo Grant," paper prepared in course of Professor H. E. Bolton, Bancroft Library. A similar case involved settlers who had been permitted to preempt their claims and pay for the land after they had resided on it for six and seven years, only to learn in 1865 that a patent for the Visitación rancho had been given to H. R. Payson for 5,473 acres, including the settlers' patented land. *House Reports*, 45 Cong., 2 Sess. (1878), vol. 4, serial 1825, no. 811.

38. *Alta California*, November 21, 1862.

39. Ogden Hoffman, *Reports of Land Cases*, 161.

40. *Alta California*, December 10, 1861.

41. Hoffman, *Reports of Land Cases*, 210; 63 *U.S. Reports*, 286. Jimeno's eleven league Jimeno rancho, which had passed into the hands of Larkin by the time it reached Judge Hoffman, was confirmed by Hoffman on July 5, 1855, just 44 days after the Land Commission had approved another grant to Jimeno, the four league Santa Paula y Saticoy in Santa Barbara County. It was then owned by J. P. Davidson. Neither district attorney nor judge in the Northern and Southern District noted the error in sanctioning more than eleven leagues in direct grants to anyone, and both were patented. The second of these Jimeno grants seems not to have been appealed, though had it been it would probably have made no difference for Judge Ogier was not inclined to raise questions. It was on such laxity by land agents, district attorneys, and the judges that some large claims got by without justification. Hartnell seemingly was the only grantee or holder of grants against whom the eleven league restriction was invoked.

Although Mexican law limited direct grants to eleven leagues, American courts were not finicky about allowing the acreage to run well over the 48,708 acre limitation. Thus the two direct grants to Nicholas A. Den in Santa Barbara County (San Marcos and Don Pueblos) were confirmed for a total of 51,118 acres instead of 48,708. There were numerous other instances. Although direct grants for ranchos were limited to eleven leagues, other grants for money were larger. It should be added that though numerous grants included the provision that they were not to be sold, the American courts completely disregarded this and confirmed as many as five assigned claims to the same individual (José de la Guerra), with total acreage running to more than 200,000 acres or up to 45 leagues.

42. Thomas O. Larkin prepared a list of 285 British and American citizens who resided in California prior to 1840. A hasty inspection of the list reveals that at least

35 grants were either made to persons on the list or were acquired by them. John A. Hawgood, *First and Last Consul Thomas Oliver Larkin and the Americanization of California* (San Marino, 1962), 109-118.

43. With some exceptions I have relied on H. H. Bancroft, *Register of Pioneer Inhabitants of California, 1542-1848* (now conveniently published separately from his great *History of California*).

44. Here and elsewhere in this paper I have followed Bancroft in not being able to determine that the three grants were not made to the same John Roland and partners. See his *Pioneer Register and Index*, 702.

45. *United States v. Throckmorton*, 98 U.S. Reports, 61; *Alta California*, June 1, 1876. The case against the Sausalito patent was dismissed partly on the technical ground that the Attorney General of the United States, rather than the district attorney was not a party in it.

46. Donald Munro Craig, editor, *William Robert Garner, Letters From California, 1846-1847* (Berkeley, 1970), 181.

47. A check of Sonoma County claims, as shown in *History of Sonoma County* (San Francisco, 1880), 146-159, reveals that 29 claims were presented by non-Spanish speaking people and 15 were presented by Spanish speaking people.

48. Castine in the *Sacramento Union*, January 21, 1863, February 27, 1864, and March 22, 1865.

49. David O. Shattuck, the attorney for the claimants was apparently the petitioner asking for additional time in which to submit the claims. *House Reports*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., January 26, 1854, serial 742, no. 70. Act of February 23, 1854 10 U.S. Stat., 268. As late as 1884 only 7 of the Napa subdivisions had been confirmed and Congress was considering legislation that would make possible the final settlement and acceptance of the boundaries of the remaining 22. *House Reports*, 48 Cong., 1 Sess., vol. 2, serial 2254, no. 360.

50. Act of July 17, 1854, 10 U.S. Stat., 784; *Stockton Weekly Democrat*, February 7, 21, 28, 1858. Juan M. Luco, who with José L. Luco was seeking confirmation of the Ulpines claim, wrote Abel Stearns on November 18, 1857, stating that he had an abundance of pasturage and proposing Stearns enter into a partnership with him for the pasturing of 1500 head of cattle. Stearns MSS., Huntington Library.

51. 64 U.S. Reports, 543.

52. *Senate Reports*, 37 Cong., 2 Sess., April 3, 1862, serial 1125, no. 31; Act of April 25, 1862, 12 U.S. Stat., 902; 67 U.S. Reports, 598; Bancroft Scraps, 43:248.

53. Paul W. Gates, "The Suscol Principle, Preemption and California Latifundia," *Pacific Historical Review*, 39 (November, 1970), 453 ff. Since writing the story of Suscol, Justice Stephen J. Field, *Personal Reminiscences* (189-190) has come to my attention, in which he expressed his malignant feeling against public and private individuals with whom he had been in contention. Representative George W. Julian, a principal leader in the movement for free homesteads and defender of settlers against spoilsman trying to take advantage of public land laws to engross large areas, was one against whom Field's venom was expressed. Julian had led the defense of the settlers on Suscol, had shown how the land office decisions had been contrary to law Vallejo purchasers in later actions and Field was greatly troubled that out of the but had failed to prevent the adoption of the Suscol Act of 1863, giving to the buyers of the Vallejo title the right of "preempting" the land they claimed in unlimited amounts. Julian was critical of the Supreme Court for upholding the title of the

Suscol difficulty a memorial was introduced in the House calling for his impeachment. This scarcely justified, however, his saying it was generally believed that Julian, in the event of success, was to have a portion of the land saved for settlers. *Senate Journal*, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., February 12, 1872, 318.

54. The three special acts applied to the buyers of the Galbreath-Bolsa de Tomales claim, the Pico-Mission San Jose claim, and the Brown-Laguna de Santos Calle claim. 13 *Stat.*, 136, 372 and 534; 14 *Stat.*, 218. I have not yet been able to work out completely the many entries of land or attempts at entering land the Act of 1866 permitted on rejected claims. Buyers of the six league Samuel J. Hensley claim (Aguas Nuevas) were able to purchase government title to tracts ranging from 157 to 436 acres and the heirs of Robert L. Carlisle 8,701 acres near Gilroy; at the same time the three claims for which special statutes were enacted went to the earlier buyers of the claimants' title. On the other hand, the Luco right to sell their huge Ulpines claim and for their buyers to repurchase from the United States was denied by the local land officers, possibly because much of the land had already been selected by the State and acquired from it by the influential J. F. Houghton. Luco continued to sell, however. *Sacramento Union*, May 11, 1867, and Bancroft Scraps, 43:187.

55. Lobbyists began their efforts in Congress in 1863: Bancroft Scraps (Bancroft Library), 43:135. The conflicting claimants for Arroyo de San Antonio finally managed to settle their destructive conflict and began a campaign to induce Congress to reopen their claim and allow it to be tried again in the district court. Their activities deeply troubled the people of Petaluma which was laid out on the tract who feared they would have all their titles upset. The California Senate adopted a concurrent resolution urging the defeat of the Latham Bill but it was not adopted by the House. Bancroft Scraps, 43:138. Finally, in 1872, a measure providing for a new trial of the claim was adopted, but in the event of confirmation, the owners were to be given scrip of a unique character because it could be located on any public land not otherwise claimed or reserved: 17 *U.S. Stat.*, 649, Gates, "California's Agricultural College Lands," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXX (May, 1961), 114 ff.

56. Parsons had been a state district judge for a short time and had attacked the liberty of the press as licentious and had been a leader of the Bulkhead Bill lobby which had made him unpopular in San Francisco. John T. Shuck, *History of the Bench and Bar of California* (Los Angeles, 1901), 476-478. Thomas R. Bard to John R. Green, August 4, 1867, in Historical Society of Southern California, *Publications*, X (1915-1917), 62; W. H. Hutchinson, *Oil, Land and Politics: The California Career of Thomas Robert Bard* (2 vols., Norman, Oklahoma, 1965), 1; map on 66, showing the location of the owned and leased ranchos.

57. Henry N. Crop, *Public Land Laws . . . With the Important Decisions* (Washington, D.C., 1875), 591 ff.

58. Thompson & West, *History of Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties*, 201, holds that Prietos should have been rejected because of conflicting and inadequate documentation.

59. *Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., July 6, 1870, 5241-5243.

60. Hutchinson, *Oil, Land and Politics*, I:72.

61. Commissioner of General Land Office, *Annual Report*, 1886, p. 25.

62. *Congressional Record*, 45 Cong., 3 Sess., January 17, 1879, p. 533; Act of January 29, 1879, 20 *Stat.*, 593. In the Stearns MSS. there is a letter in Spanish of Pablo Apis, Temecula, August 10, 1852, to Stearns about livestock and clothing Apis wished to purchase.

63. Albert Dibblee to A. T. Britton, November 7, 1870, March 31 and July 27, 1871, Dibblee MSS., Bancroft Library.

64. Smith & Redington to Albert Dibblee, February 4, 12, August 2, 1876; Thomas B. Dibblee to Albert Dibblee, February 16, and March 22, and 31, 1876; *San Francisco Daily Evening Post*, March 21, 1876.

65. Dibblee to Albert D. Dibblee, April 29, 1876.

66. To A. Dibblee, March 22, 1876.

67. *San Francisco Daily Evening Post*, April 10, 17, 20, 28, June 2, 7, 12, 1876; *In the Matter of the Rancho Cañada de Guadalupe La Visitación Y Rodeo Viejo. Argument of Mr. Edmond L. Goold in Resistance of the Application to Institute Proceeding in Chancery to Cancel Patent* (Washington, 1876), as given in R. E. Cowan, *Bibliography of the History of California*, ii, 343; William S. Robertson, *Iturbide of Mexico*, (New York, 1968), 304, 305.

68. *House Reports*, 45 Cong., 2 Sess., 1878, vol. 4, serial 1825, no. 812.

69. *Senate Reports*, 45 Cong., 2 Sess., 1878, serial 1789, no. 148. Juan Cordero, who was listed in the census of 1860 as having land worth \$1,000 and livestock worth \$7,600 but whether he was Juan C. who was one of the heirs of Miguel is not clear. Thompson & West. *History of Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties*, 122; *San Francisco Daily Evening Post*, March 21, 1876.

70. Dibblee, to Albert Dibblee, June 20, 1878.

71. James K. Redington to Dibblee, March 18, May 10, and August 13, 1878.

72. The McGarrahan-Panoche Grande claim probably received more attention of Congress than any other private land claim. For discussions on the bill to allow appeal to the Court of Claims in the second session of the 52nd Congress see the *Congressional Record*, variously from 136 to 630. Robert J. Parker, "William McCarrahan's 'Panoche Grande Claim,'" *Pacific Historical Review*, 5 (September, 1936), 212 ff.

73. General Land Office, *Annual Report*, 1887, 545-546.

74. *San Francisco Daily Evening Post*, July 6, 25, 1876. As late as 1888 and 1889 Senator W. M. Stewart of Nevada introduced a harassing resolution calling upon the Attorney General to provide the Senate with information on "suits to vacate land patents," mentioning particularly Raymundo, Pulgas, Buri Buri in San Mateo County, Corte de la Madera Presidio, and Cañada de Guadalupe Visitación y Rodeo Viejo in San Francisco County. *Senate Journal*, 50 Cong., 1 Sess., serial 2503, pp. 541, 837, 852 and *Senate Journal*, 50 Cong., 2 Sess., serial 2609, 113.

75. *Cong. Record*, 45 Cong., 3 Sess., 1878-1879, 1088, 1092, Luttrell charged that Timothy G. Phelps had acquired 2,183 acres of the disputed land stated to be worth from \$250 to \$500 an acre and when in Congress in 1861-1863 had used his influence with Attorney General Edward Bates to dismiss an appeal to the Supreme Court in opposition to the survey. Bates had dismissed the appeal it was said in the fear that without so doing so California might join the confederacy. The charge may be far fetched but Californians had it in for Phelps who had led the fight for the Suscol bill, discussed above.

76. This latter point is brought out in the *Annual Report* of Commissioner Willis Drummond of the General Land Office, 1872, p. 64. Drummond was convinced that if the section requiring the claimant to pay for the survey were repealed and the government proceeded speedily to make the surveys the settlement of the private land claims would be materially advanced.

Malcolm Edwards

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“Substantial, Fire-Proof Edifices . . .”

Made So by the Marvelous Invention of Iron Door and Window Shutters

AN EASTERN GREENHORN, a Gold Rush story relates, took lodgings in a mining town hotel and after surveying the premises inquired what the tenants could do in case of fire. “Jump out your window and turn left,” the desk clerk replied. Safety lay in sleeping light and outrunning danger.

Fire was a presence and a promise in the nineteenth century mining camps scattered from Montana’s barren slopes to the timbered foothills of the California Sierras. The cramped, hurriedly built, wooden towns that rose full grown wherever mineral riches were found often disappeared as quickly in a fury of smoke and flame. Sparks and fire from lanterns, cinders from the pipes and cigars of carefree smokers and from open hearths were scattered by accident or design to the tinder structures huddled on narrow streets.

The communities that mothered the California mines were not immune. Flames that devoured substantial portions of San Francisco knew no season. The first came on Christmas Eve of 1849, another May 4, 1850, and others in May and June of 1851. It appeared to the unacquainted that the community’s citizens followed two major occupations—firefighting and reconstruction.

In a two-year period in the early 1850’s, Sacramento was visited by five devastating fires, but while that may seem excessive, California’s mining towns and camps appeared to take it as a challenge. A large section of Marysville was destroyed in 1851. An important part of Georgetown vanished during a summer blaze in 1852. Columbia was swept by fire on July 10, 1854, and, in something of an anniversary observance, burned again on that same date in 1857, and once again the following month. A fire at Hangtown on April 15, 1856, left hardly enough standing to build a proper gallows. Scores of other major and minor conflagrations singed or scoured scores of other camps and towns, and fire protection became an obvious matter for social concern.

While many of the miners in California’s gold country had come from metropolitan areas and brought at least a visual acquaintance with firefight-

ing methods and apparatus, the answers to the problem were elusive. Fire-fighting companies were organized but their effectiveness was often limited by their equipment, by charters which forbade them to extinguish flames eating at the property of non-subscribers, and by the combustible character of the buildings they sought to save.

A more effective contribution was made as settlements took on a more permanent posture and essential or prosperous business houses made a shift from wooden walls to stone or brick. Fires came, and ". . . substantial, fire-proof edifices . . ." rose from the ashes.

While brick was described by a contemporary architect as ". . . the best fire retardant material for walls . . .," masonry buildings had their failings. Their roofs were generally flammable materials—shingles, or wooden planks covered with a waterproofing pitch or tar. At the same time, windows and doorways, glassed or open, provided no protection from fires burning intensely nearby.

What are believed to be the oldest photographic views of Gold Rush San Francisco, dated at late 1850 or early 1851, document one prosaic solution to the flat roof-top problem. Water barrels were spaced around the perimeter of a building's roof, ready to flood the surface if fire approached.

Another equally simple answer appeared at Columbia. Flat roofs on masonry buildings there were covered with a layer of sand, in turn sheathed by metal sheeting.

The best that could be done for slope roofs was to sheet them in metal.

Merchants turned to iron shutters to minimize the dangers of external fire entering a building through doors or windows. The practice, followed in Europe and in the eastern United States during the mid-part of the nineteenth century, was imitated widely in Gold Rush California. San Francisco's commercial district boasted several brick structures with iron shutters at the beginning of the 1850's, including the offices of Sam Brannan's *San Francisco Herald*; and the idea, once landed in San Francisco, soon made its way inland to Sacramento and Stockton, and just as quickly into the mining country.

A lithograph of 1854 Columbia shows a number of buildings fitted with iron shutters, including the Towle & Leavitt Building, the Jackson Store, and Donnell & Parsons establishment, and a newspaper account of the August, 1857, fire comments that tradesmen shut their iron shutters as the conflagration spread. Alas, iron doors or not, the brick stores of Donnell & Parsons and A. Leavitt perished in the blaze.

Similar illustrations of Sonora and Mariposa in the 1850's indicate several buildings in each community with iron shutters. In each of these towns and camps, the shutters first installed to block fire were easily adapted to discourage intruders. By adding simple, husky locks to the main entrance and by barring windows and other doors, a merchant or banker could provide

some protection for his property when he was absent. Merchants found, too, that shutters provided a fine surface for sign painting. Inspection of faded commercial messages provides pieces in the genealogy of building ownership and function. And, as an aside to quality, the shutters' durability is a testimonial to the richness of ores used in the mid-nineteenth century in the manufacture of iron.

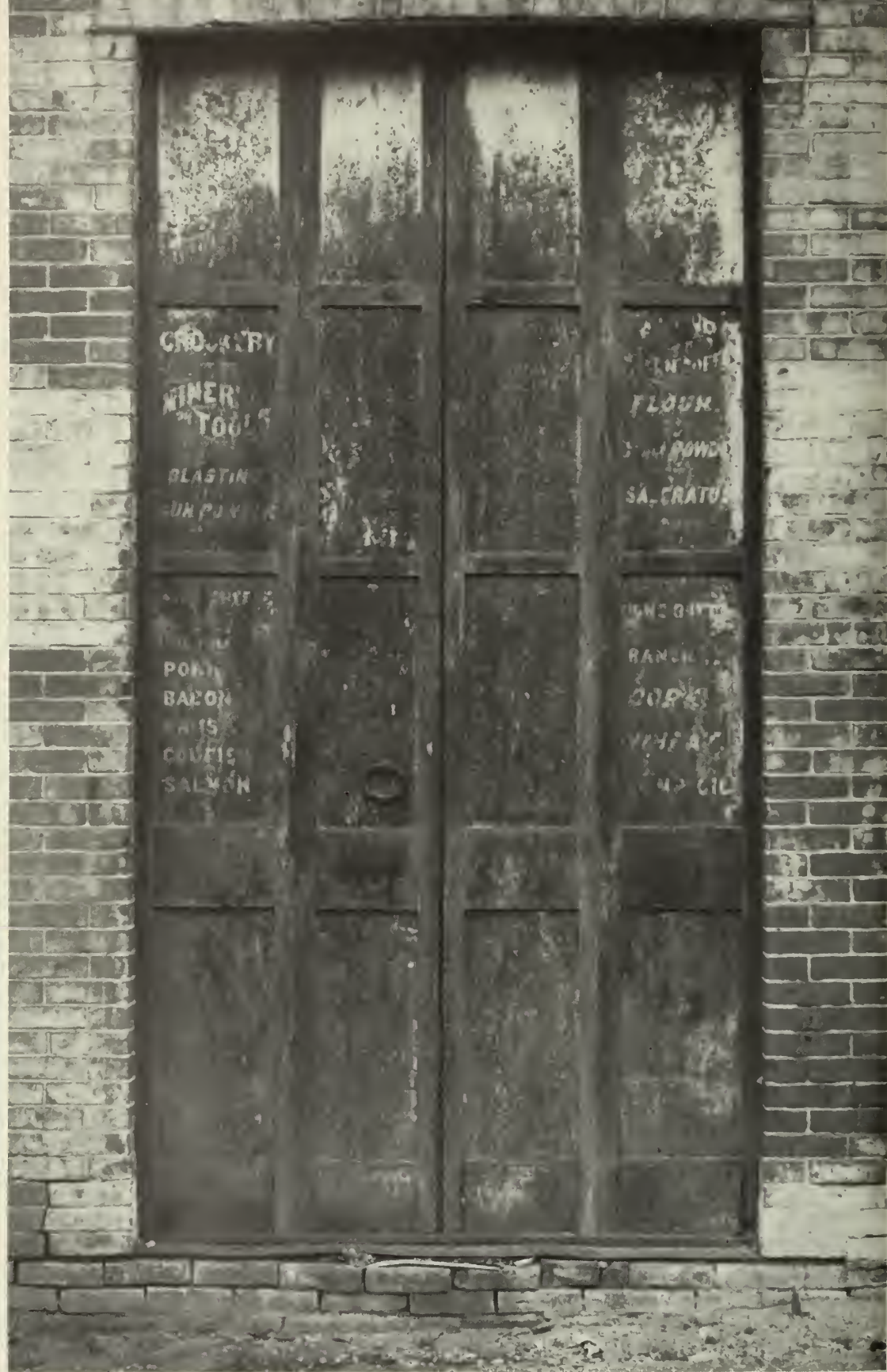
If the remains in California's southern mining communities are indicative, most shutters were simply designed and fashioned from a sheet of $3/32$ to $1/8$ -inch thick iron in panels 12 to 18 inches wide and in heights dictated by the dimensions of the door or window. Panels were hinged in sets of two when the opening width exceeded two feet. An iron bar—dimensioned $1/4$ -inch thick and 1 to $1-1/2$ -inch wide—was riveted in a band around the individual panels as a stiffener, and a similar bar was riveted in a horizontal position across the panel whenever required to provide additional strength. These iron bands were usually placed on the outside, street front face at doors and the inside, room face at windows. Rivets used to attach stiffener bars and the simple pin hinge plates commonly measured $1/4$ -inch round.

Two methods were routinely employed to hinge door shutters to buildings. An iron casement—incorporating $1/2$ -inch round hinge pins to hang the shutters—was built with flanges which could be mortared into the masonry wall. A second, less complicated means, requiring only the embedding of the hinge pin flanges in the building wall, was adapted frequently for doors and generally for window shutters.

Door thresholds also appeared in at least two styles. Iron sheet in 18-inch widths, sometimes serrated to provide traction for smooth soled boots and shoes, was often slotted to accept a vertical, sliding bar lock attached to the door and to assure a snug fit at the base of the door. The more common practice was to use brick, stone, or marble thresholds.

Latching devices varied widely and the most simple was a lever on the outside of a door, connected by a pin to an iron bar on the inside. When adjoining door panels were aligned, the lever could be used to swing the bar into brackets attached to the companion shutter. More sophisticated latches moved vertically-traveling iron bars, guided by brackets on the inside of a door panel, into slots in the threshold below and the casement above. Latches of these types, in a multitude of variations, were traditionally utilized on door panels at the establishment's front entrance. Other shutters were secured by a swinging bar which had its pivot point attached to one shutter in a pair. The panels were closed and the bar swung horizontally to fit into iron brackets, locking one shutter to the other. Iron handrings were frequently added to the outside of heavy door shutters to simplify moving them manually.

Iron shutters were manufactured in both San Francisco and Sacramento in the early 1850's, and many of standard or special size were shipped from



CROCKERY

MINER
TOOLS

BLASTING

UNPOW

POKE
BACON

COFFEE
SALMON

FLOUR

POWDER

SA-CRATU

RANCH

COFFEE

SALMON



Simple latches operated by a handle on the door front served initially to bar iron door shutters. Locks (with a keyhole peeking out between the latch handle and the pull ring) were a generally adopted afterthought.

Stigs of merchant wares often appeared in shutters, providing the Mother country with an advance taste of everyday billboards. These doors are on a portos building.

Single-panel shutters, with hinge pins embedded in the masonry wall, were a common fixture on business building windows. Murphy's Hotel, at Murphy's has notable samples indicating construction details.



those points to the mining country. Hooker & Co., with a factory at 117 and 119 California Street, San Francisco, in 1864, had established itself at 81 J Street in Sacramento eleven years before. In 1864 it advertised, "... our stock in hand, either at Sacramento or San Francisco, comprises every article in our line in demand by the *Miner*, *Farmer*, or *Mechanic*, ..." an inventory which included iron sheeting, bars, and steel—the stuff of iron doors. The Phoenix Works, opened by Jonathan Kittredge at Nos. 6 and 8 Battery Street, San Francisco, in 1853, made up "... fire proof doors, shutters, bank vaults ..." and claimed in 1864 that "... it has sent work of his manufacture to nearly every City and Town in California and Oregon. ..." August Pritzel's San Francisco Iron Works announced from its quarters at 416 Market Street in 1863 that it was unexcelled as a manufacturer of iron doors, railings, balconies, and grave fences.

Along with these regional suppliers, there is evidence that special iron doors were made abroad. The extra heavy door on the Hornitos jail, for example, designed to hold fiery spirits rather than keep fire out, is a forbidding barrier 1 1/4-inch thick reputed to have come from England.

But, while the earliest shutters used in California's mining communities were probably supplied by iron works in the Bay Area, sheet iron, iron bar, and rivets were also available raw from stocks in San Francisco, Sacramento, and Stockton. Local blacksmiths ingenious enough to solve more complex shaping and mechanical problems were equal to making doors, hinges, pinions, iron bar casements, and thresholds. Early in the decade of the 1850's, very likely, the common practice was to patronize the local manufacturer.

In 1856, White & Wing advertised at Columbia as dealers in sheet iron ware, while Austin, Smith & Co. and Campbell & Hedden announced their talents as blacksmiths. Sonora had at least three blacksmiths during the same period, Jamestown four, and Shaw's Flat nine. At Murphy's Camp, H. Rogers stocked sheet, bar, iron, and steel, offering them at San Francisco prices, adding freight and commission, and performed job work in tin, sheet iron, or copper.

Several Gold Rush communities in the southern region—Jamestown, Columbia, Sonora, Coulterville, Bear Valley, Chinese Camp, Mariposa—are endowed with numerous iron shutters, and there are many and varied examples of style among the structures and remnants of structures still standing. The slight divergence in design tends to reinforce the theory that many shutters were made by the community blacksmith whose touch was individual rather than standard. And because shutters were used on buildings constructed as late as the 1890's in remote, down-at-the-heels settlements, it is probable that they were often pirated from abandoned or destroyed buildings and adapted to the new.

An architectural writer remarked at the close of the nineteenth century

that, "... shutters of iron or metal covered wood ..." did not fill the demand for protection from outside fires, and he observed that the shutters were "... usually not closed when the building is vacated. ..." Considering the speed with which fire spread in gold camps, a building's occupants presumably put their own safety ahead of the structure's and frequently departed without closing up when the cry "Fire!" was heard.

Whatever their inadequacies, iron shutters were a durable accessory which have become synonymous with gold country architecture and with masonry commercial structures dating to the later half of the nineteenth century in northern California.

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By Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager

BOOK NOTICES

Old Newport: the Seaport Years (Newport Beach: Sandpiper Press, 1970. 48 pp. \$2.95), edited by Ellen K. Lee and with delightful art work by Thelma Paddock Hope, introduces the reader to the nostalgic and carefree, happy days (1870 to 1889) as experienced by young Ramona Duarte at Newport Landing in Orange County. This is a good example of a combination of oral history, fine illustrations, and printing which emerges as a charming and lovingly prepared booklet of local history. The Newport Beach Historical Society and Public Library and the Newport Harbor Civic League deserve an appreciative salute for producing such an excellent biographical study.

Golden Mirages, by Philip A. Bailey (Ramona: Acoma Books, 1971. 354 pp. \$9.95), is a special commemorative reprint edition covering the stories of the Lost Pegleg Mine, Three Gold Buttes and numerous yarns of and by those who knew the desert. This is a welcomed reprint of a now exceedingly hard-to-find 1940 edition and is in larger format and contains an added bibliographical note prepared by the late Mr. Bailey. Of especial interest are the 53 pages devoted to tales of La Frontera and of the prospectors of the Southwest Desert who combed and still continue to search the area so rich in lost mines and desert lore.

Leland Stanford: Man of Many Careers, by Norman E. Tutorow (Menlo Park: Pacific Coast Publishers, 1971. 332 pp. \$9.95), provides a documented history of the times and many careers Stanford became involved in (law, politics, horseracing, viticulture) and of his specialized interests. Tutorow has assembled much material and many little known photographs which add much to this biography of the man who served California as its Civil War Governor. This is the first detailed biography of Leland Stanford and it is good that this first work, on so colorful a personality, should come from the pen of Professor Tutorow. It is an excellent documented history of the times.

Wilbur S. Shepperson's *Restless Strangers: Nevada's Immigrants and Their Interpreters* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1970. 288 pp. \$7.00), is exciting reading. Nevada had the largest percentage of foreign-born of any state in America for two decades following the Civil War and Shepperson's efforts to evaluate the humor, distrust, enterprise, and conflicts, not to overlook the loneliness and despair of its residents, are succinctly presented. The splendid bibliography will lead the reader to other sources on what is easily one of the most interesting aspects of development of the Far West—what drew people to Nevada—how did they adjust to a foreign terrain—what entertainments did they devise to lessen their homesickness? Author Shepperson's previous works and numerous monographs indicate his wide knowledge of the local historical scene of Nevada.

Birthright of Barbed Wire: the Santa Anita Assembly Center for the Japanese, by Anthony L. Lehman (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1970. 101 pp. \$6.95), is a well

documented history of the eight-month period when a racetrack in Arcadia was used as an Assembly Center for the Japanese-American citizens prior to their relocation to inland centers during the early days of World War II. This is, indeed, a book for every thoughtful American to read.

Geologists and mining engineers will discover many interesting facets in this study on the life of *Andrew C. Lawson: Scientist, Teacher, Philosopher*, by Francis E. Vaughan (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1970. 474 pp. \$10.00). Vaughan's biographical tribute to the former Chairman of the Department of Geology and Dean of the College of Mining at the University of California, Berkeley, fully indicates his great depth of understanding and appreciation of Lawson, the man, and of his many contributions in the scientific fields.

A Pictorial Memorial to the Wheels that Won the West will be found in *Western Wagon Wheels*, by Lambert Florin (Seattle: Superior Publishing Company, 1970. 183 pp. \$12.95). You name it—they're all here: stage coaches, Conestoga wagons, buggies, 20-Mule team wagons, carretas, and the inevitable hearse, are all pictured and described in another photographic essay by the very busy and creative cameraman, Lambert Florin.

San Bernardino County Registered State Historical Landmarks, by Gerald A. Smith, L. Burr Belden, and Arda M. Haenszel (San Bernardino County Museum Association, 18860 Orange Avenue, Bloomington: 74 pp. \$2.00), covers the points of historical interest in San Bernardino County. The Museum Commission was appointed to serve as the County's Historical Landmarks Committee and this well illustrated brochure covers twenty-six historical sites. Among the landmarks described are the San Bernardino *Asistencia*, the Mormon Stockade Site, the Santa Fe-Salt Lake Trail Monument, Mormon Trail Monument and Fort Benson, Searles Borax Discovery Site, and the National Old Trails Monument.

Trails of the Angeles: 100 Hikes in the San Gabriels, by John W. Robinson (Berkeley: Wilderness Press, 1971. 256 pp. \$4.95), provides an all-year round invitation to southern Californians to explore as well as to discover precious areas of isolation and beauty still to be found in the San Gabriel Mountains. It is well illustrated and embellished with clear descriptions, including such information as "Easy," "Moderate," or "Strenuous," "seasons to travel," "when closed," length of hikes, and elevation gains. The chapter on "Man in the San Gabriels" will interest the history buff while "Hiking Hints" will please the ardent conservationist who may not need the "Hints" but will appreciate their inclusion to help prevent further destruction or vandalism of the delights yet to be found in the San Gabriels.

The Sign of the Eagle: a View of Mexico, 1830 to 1855, Letters of Lt. John James Peck, edited by Richard F. Pourade (San Diego: Union-Tribune Publishing Company, 1970. 170 pp. \$14.50), is another worthy addition to the growing list of fine historical publications emerging under the directorship and editorship of Richard Pourade. Mexican War students will rarely find such a brilliantly illustrated collection of letters spanning the United States-Mexican period, a real bonanza for the historian, art historian, and collector.

Another set of letters from a later period in California history will be found in *Letters from California, 1846-1847*, by William Robert Garner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970. 262 pp. \$8.95), edited with notes and a short biography of their author by Donald Munro Craig. Numerous illustrations, maps, and a fine bibliography add much to these unusual letters covering the political scene, natural resources, and economic prospects as well as the customs of the *Californios* before the Gold Rush. These rare and delightful materials, happily brought to light through the careful editing of Editor Craig, elicited the following remarks from Dr. George

P. Hammond, *Director Emeritus* of the Bancroft Library, "The Letters themselves are extremely interesting, and as a source material are of first-rate relevance and importance."

Charming Monterey appears in print once again in *Old Monterey County: a Pictorial History* (Monterey: Monterey Savings and Loan Association, 1970. 120 pp. *Gratis*). This publication is an excellently prepared local history published under the direction and through the generosity of a business firm which has long held a strong position in promoting worthwhile historical publications in Monterey County. This book was written by Robert B. Johnston and designed by Peter Volante; the illustrations, maps, and general format make this a fine contribution to the California scene and a valuable asset to the school and library systems of Monterey County.

The Seri Indians of Sonora, Mexico, by Bernice Johnston, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970. 16 pp. \$2.50), is a beautiful and sensitive study, although a brief one, of the history and art work of the Seri Indians. The photographs in luscious color will introduce ardent collectors to a relatively untouched field of native American craftsmanship, especially in the finely carved ironwood figurines, the fascinating pottery, ceramic figurines, necklaces, and baskets.

County histories, filled with biographical studies and portraits of community builders or pioneer, once graced many a marble-topped table in mansion or farmhouse and still hold a never ending fascination for today's publisher and collector. With the reprint of Fariss and Smith's *History of Plumas, Lassen and Sierra Counties, California* (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1971. 688 pp. 123 illus., \$20.00), librarians and scholars have the latest addition to the growing number of county histories reprinted by Howell-North. Howell-North Books has used sage judgment in the selection of historians or writers to prepare the added introductions to their reprint volumes. Without doubt W. H. Hutchinson was the best qualified to prepare the particular introduction for this work. Some of the famous early personages and residents of these three counties include Peter Lassen, Jim Beckwourth, "Squire" T. D. Bonner, and John Mackay, one of the Silver Kings of the Comstock.

Palm Canyons of Baja California, by Randall Henderson (Glendale: La Siesta Press, 1971. 71 pp. \$1.95), is another addition to the long chain of interesting and informative small publications emerging from Walt Wheelock's La Siesta Press. Baja California and all its fascinating and intriguing aspects has become a lodestone for campers, jeepsters, jalopy drivers, and buggyites. Eight articles which originally appeared in Henderson's *Desert Magazine*, an introduction by Wheelock, and good illustrations make up this edition.

Certainly an integral part of any Baja California Library collection will be Helen Ellsberg's *Los Coronados Islands* (Glendale: La Siesta Press, 1970. 36 pp. \$1.00). The islands, now a Mexican military post as well as a bird refuge, once served as vantage points for early day pirates and for runrunners during the Prohibition Era. Mrs. Ellsberg presents legends, descriptions of birds, mammals, geology, and the history of these mysterious islands rising out of the Pacific, hugging the sea-boundary of California and Baja California. Although long publicized as the "Sentinels of the San Diego Harbor," they do not belong to the United States but are very much a part of Baja California and permission must be obtained from the Mexican Government in order to visit the Coronados.

Indian Talk: Hand Signals of the American Indians, by Iron Eyes Cody (Healdsburg: Naturegraph Publishers, 1970. 112 pp. \$1.75), illustrated by Ken Mansker (a Flathead Indian artist) and with 150 photographs, is a worthwhile item for all ages. It is most educational and entertaining to become acquainted with the no-longer secret language of the Great Plains Indians. Their hand signals are a part of nature itself.

Fort Supply, Indian Territory: Frontier Outpost on the Plains, by Robert C. Carriker (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970. 241 pp. \$7.95), is an exciting and definitive study of the changing and all important role played by Fort Supply in subduing Southern Plains Indians. Professor Carriker has, through the medium of all available sources, as well as local newspapers and elusive personal letters, provided additional highlights about this supply frontier fort established in 1868 in the northwest Indian Territory by an order of General Philip H. Sheridan. The troops from Fort Supply helped to extend the army's control of the region, and its storehouses equipped Forts Reno, Elliott, and Cantonment. Later its personnel assumed the task of protecting reservation Cheyennes and Arapahoes from other tribes, from cattle and horse thieves, and from white cattlemen who encroached on reservation grazing lands. Fort Supply's final assignment was to supervise the opening of the Cherokee Outlet in 1893. This study will certainly serve as a fine model for any future studies on the life and times of the frontier forts of the West.

Delightful Journey: Down the Green and Colorado Rivers, by Barry Goldwater, with supplemental essays by Robert C. Euler and Carleton B. Moore, and O. Dock Marston serving as Special Consultant (Tempe: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1970. 209 pp. \$15.00), is based on the 1940 river boat expedition of Goldwater and the diary kept and photographs he made. This is real arm-chair adventuring, more so when the adventure is so clearly and sensitively described. The deep love of country and keen appreciation of the efforts of the West's earlier explorers shines through this excellent study. Study? Hardly, this is an adventure in good reading and for the enjoyment of a beautiful melding of text and photographs graced with appropriate quotations from the writings of John Wesley Powell of Colorado River fame.

Grateful indeed is this reviewer that the earlier edition (of which only 300 mimeographed copies were made in 1940 for private distribution) has now been made available for a wider audience to share and enjoy. This was an unusual river boat trip in that it can never be duplicated again—either in description or scene. With the disappearance of the once lovely Glen Canyon and surrounding areas it is most fortuitous to have Mr. Goldwater's diary put into the more permanent form of a highly readable and well designed publication.

Delta Country, by Ronald Dean Miller and Peggy Jeanne Miller (Glendale: La Siesta Press, 1971. 36 pp. \$1.00), is good escapist reading for those trying to become untangled from traffic snarls and the hazards of city living. The Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta encompasses 1,000 square miles of scenic rivers, sloughs, back-swamps, tules, and peat bogs. Stretching 24 miles east-to-west and 48 miles north-to-south this vast swampland comprises California's Delta Country. The number of cruisers and houseboats are increasing rapidly with the Delta coming into its own with a large number of people buying or renting houseboats and learning to enjoy a life of leisure time on the "Old" Sacramento River. The Millers have assembled pertinent facts as well as helpful hints not only for the "weekend warrior" but for the confirmed Delta Country "captain." One guarantee not specified in the Millers' *Delta Country* book is that it will not only heighten a bad case of "Delta Fever," but seriously encourage it!

Here is a wonderful book! *Boontling: an American Linggo with a Dictionary of Boontling*, by Charles C. Adams (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971. 272 pp. \$7.50) presents an admirable challenge to the linguist searching for a newer and more tantalizing manner in which to describe something. *Boontling*, a deliberately contrived jargon spoken extensively in the upper Anderson Valley of Mendocino County between 1880 and 1920 is well covered by Dr. Adams. The jargon, if you will, contained a basic vocabulary of more than 1,000 unique words and phrases and

nearly 300 specialized names for residents of the upper Anderson Valley and for the more prominent geographical features of the area. Though the lingo has ceased to play the important role it once had in Anderson Valley life, it is still remembered and spoken among old-timers and is now being revived by a younger generation who wish to cultivate the traditions of their valley forebears. Since "Boontling" is so intimately related to the valley itself and to the people who spoke it, it cannot be fully understood or appreciated without knowing the physical and social context, in some detail, of this unusual valley located 100 miles northwest of San Francisco.

A *diddle can* (a liquor container) was so named for a Dr. Diddle during times of local prohibition when he allegedly prescribed "blue grass for tongue cuppy kimmies" ("whisky for 'sick' men"). A *dom-gormin'* region (chicken-eating area) was any established picnic ground, while a *hornin-region* (drinking place) was a saloon! A *batter shack* was a bachelor's cabin. Readers of Dr. Adam's delightful study will certainly enjoy a *boboik* (a loud, hearty laugh), as well as feel a closer empathy for *Boontling* when they finish perusing the unexpected bonanza of a uniquely different kind of dictionary.

Your *California Historical Society*, in 1957, introduced as *Special Publication Number 29*, the nostalgic reminiscences of Katharine Bixby Hotchkis, *Christmas at Rancho Los Alamitos*, printed by Lawton Kennedy and exquisitely illustrated by Clement Hurd. Within an all too short period this delightful narrative acquired an "out of print" status.

In response to many requests, the *Society* now introduces as *Special Publication Number 47*, a completely new edition of *Christmas Eve at Rancho Los Alamitos*, in a sharp, new format designed by Robert Weinstein, of Anderson, Ritchie and Simon, and illustrated by Gene Holtan (San Francisco: *California Historical Society*, 1971. 23 pp. \$6.00 boards; \$1.75 wrappers, plus tax).

With *Adobe Days*, by Sarah Bixby Smith, *Christmas Eve at Rancho Los Alamitos* will surely enjoy the premier ranking of being another juvenile American Classic.

Ever wish for an opportunity to discover the pastoral California once enjoyed before our present freeway and jet plane days? It is waiting for you within the slim 44 pages of *Trip With Father*, by Katharine Bixby Hotchkis (San Francisco: *California Historical Society*, 1971. \$7.00 boards; \$2.25 wrappers, plus tax).

The journey, a wonderful wayfaring by horseback from Piedmont to Long Beach, is well told. The three young Bixby daughters, along with a beloved cousin, Susanna Bryant (later Mrs. Susanna Bryant Dakin) participated in the adventurous and unusual horseback ride, under the guidance and leadership of their father, Fred Bixby, a colorful and knowledgeable horseman.

One can savor her pen-pictures of long stretches of wild coastline, the canyons and rural countryside, as well as the reactions of horses and riders alike on the lengthy 1916 trip through the then-serene heart of California.

Issued as *Special Publication Number 48*, and designed by Robert Weinstein, of Anderson, Ritchie and Simon, with illustrations by George Bartell, it will surely please and satisfy those so fortunate to secure copies of *Trip with Father*.

With enthusiasm and sincerity your reviewers urge readers to acquire these new publications of the *Society*, issued in a limited edition, for these are delightful keepsakes of the not-so-distant Californian scene.

The San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1856: Three Views, by William T. Coleman, William T. Sherman, and James O'Meara, with a 16-page introductory historical-bibliographical essay, as well as a critical appraisal of some 42 primary and 36 secondary printed sources and edited by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., (Glendale: The Westerners, Los Angeles Corral, P.O. Box 230, 1971. 181 pp. \$20.00), is an exciting

find because of the new materials which have been so carefully brought together by Editor Nunis. Limited to but 500 copies, this edition contains six portraits of major participants, a reproduction of the Committee's membership certificate, and the only known photograph of a group of Vigilance Committee members in uniform. Twenty-one known pictorial letter-sheets relating to the famed 1856 Vigilance Committee are added highlights as well as the numerous newspapers and periodicals providing over 200 sources of rich hunting ground materials for future and present Vigilance Committee historians.

In Robert G. Cowan's earlier Los Angeles study, *A Backward Glance: Los Angeles, 1901-1915*, the reader was introduced to a wealth of new and unique photographs. Another delightful booklet of an earlier-day Los Angeles now appears by Mr. Cowan, *On the Rails of Los Angeles: a Pictorial History of its Street-cars* (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 200 E. Avenue 43, 1971. 44 pp. hard covers \$6.50; stiff covers, \$2.75, plus tax). The horse-car, cable car, the steam car, and the electric car are all depicted in the 40 original photographic reproductions.

An Earthquake Memoir, by Reverend Francis J. Weber (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1971. 20 pp. \$5.00), is only 2 7/8" x 2 1/8" and bound in red buckram, but is a unique addition to the growing list of finely produced miniature book-items by this noted author. In the aftermath of the San Fernando Valley earthquake of February 9, 1971, which measured a dramatic 6.5 on the Richter scale, the serious damage inflicted upon historic Mission San Fernando, the Queen of Angels Seminary, and especially upon the so-recently established rare book library is graphically depicted and surveyed. It will most certainly pique collectors of miniature books and those acquiring materials on the San Fernando Valley earthquake to discover that only one hundred of the four hundred copies printed are offered for sale.

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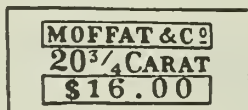
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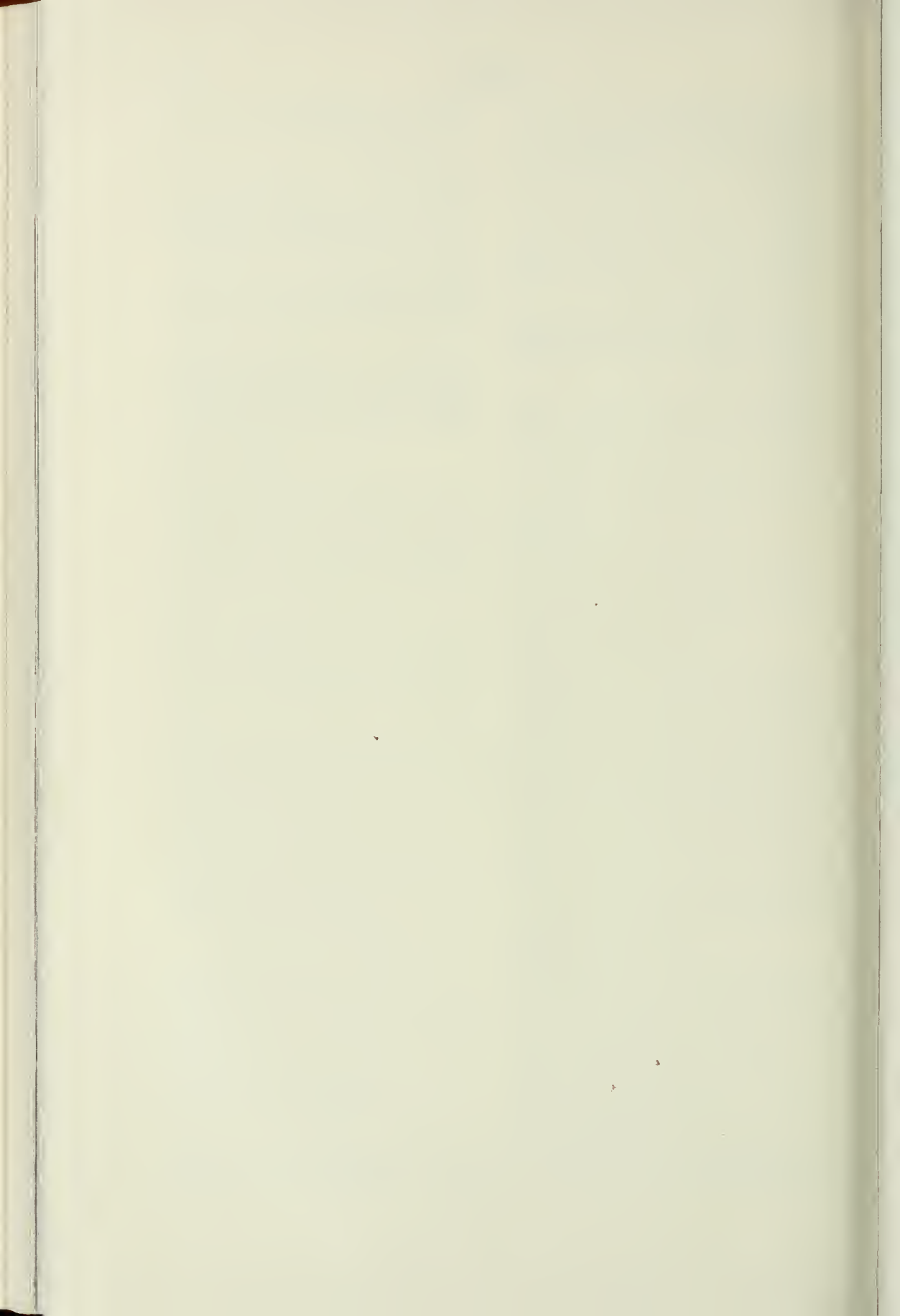
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